The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
A Journal of Religion

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Christians and Communists

By Harry F. Ward

The Collapse of Sanctions

An Editorial

Cooperative Denmark

By Soren K. Ostergaard

Retrospect

An Editorial

15 Cents a Copy • December 25, 1935 • Four Dollars a Year

DEC 26 1935

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In This Issue

HARRY F. WARD concludes in this issue the discussion begun last week with his article entitled, "Judgment Day for Pacifists." Readers are advised to familiarize themselves with that article before taking up the one in the present number; together they present one of the most important, as well as debate-provoking, theses to be presented in these pages for many months. Dr. Ward is professor of Christian ethics at Union Theological seminary, and formerly was a member of the faculties of Northwestern university and the Boston university school of theology. He is chairman of the American civil liberties union, president of the American league against war and fascism, executive secretary of the Methodist social service federation, and an ordained minister of the Methodist Episcopal church. Of his many books the most recent is "In Place of Profit," a study of the soviet union.

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

December 25, 1935

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$4.00 a year. Canadian postage, 52 cents extra; foreign postage, $1.56 extra

Contents

Editorial
- Editorial Paragraphs 1643
- The Collapse of Sanctions 1646
- Retrospect 1648

Quintus Quiz: Diaries 1650

Contributed Articles
- Christians and Communists, by Harry F. Ward .. 1651
- I Knew the Man, by Raymond Kresensky 1653
- Cooperative Denmark, by Soren K. Ostergaard .. 1654

Books
- Meditations on the Cross, by Toyohiko Kagawa .. 1657
- Introducing Kagawa, by Helen Topping 1657

A Communication 1658

The Question Box 1659

News of the Christian World
- Correspondence from New York 1660
- Correspondence from Minnesota 1660
- Correspondence from Central Europe 1661
- Correspondence from England 1662
- Correspondence from India 1662
- Correspondence from Indiana 1663

The New Films 1664

Books Received 1665

Index, July-December 1666

Calendar of Coming Events

Dec. 27, 28. National conference of theological students, Butler university, Indianapolis.
Dec. 27-30. Twenty-ninth annual meeting American Association for Labor legislation, Hotel Commodore, New York city.
Dec. 28. Young people's convention. Methodist Episcopal church, south. Dr. Kagawa on program, Memphis, Tenn.
Dec. 28-Jan. 1. Student Volunteer movement quadrennial convention, Indianapolis, Ind.
Dec. 29. Ford Hall forum, Boston; speakers, representatives of the Oxford group.
Dec. 29. Chicago Sunday evening club; speaker, Dr. Charles R. Brown.
Dec. 29-Jan. 1. Federal council seminar on cooperation. Dr. Kagawa on program.
Dec. 30, 31. American Catholic Philosophical association, Cleveland, O.
Dec. 31-Jan. 3. Fourth southwide Southern Baptist training conference, Dr. Kagawa speaker, Birmingham, Ala.
Jan. 3-5. Third U. S. congress against war and fascism, Cleveland, Ohio.
Jan. 5. Chicago Sunday evening club; speaker, Dr. William Temple, archbishop of York, Eng.
Jan. 5, 6. Kagawa conferences, interdenominational, Atlanta, Ga.
Jan. 6. Annual meeting Seattle council of churches and Christian education, Seattle, Wash.
Jan. 6. Union ministers' meeting, demonstration of church music by H. Augustine Smith and Boston university choir, Boston, Mass.
Jan. 6. Indianapolis ministers association, Roberts Park Methodist church, Indianapolis.
Jan. 6. Baptist leadership training school, first of six Monday nights, Indianapolis.
Jan. 6, 7. Annual meeting Washington state council of churches and Christian education, Seattle, Wash.
Jan. 6-12. Week of Prayer.
Jan. 7-9. General missionary council, Methodist Episcopal church, south, Washington, D. C.
Jan. 10. Administrative council of the New York state council of churches and religious education, Albany, N. Y.
Jan. 13-17. Annual meeting of the Home Missions council, council of women for home missions, including the national conference on the rural church, Washington, D. C.
Jan. 14-16. Baptist state convention of Florida, Arcadia, Fla.
Jan. 14-16. Midwest conference of Methodist federation for social service, Evanston, Ill.
Jan. 20-22. Washington state Baptist pastors conference, Seattle, Wash.
Feb. 22, 23. Brotherhood day.
Jan. 21-23. Conference on cause and cure of war, Washington, D. C.
Jan. 22. Annual meeting of the Save the Children fund, New York City.
Jan. 22. Kagawa conference, Philadelphia.
Jan. 31. Y.W.C.A. annual meeting.
Feb. 3-5. Indiana state pastors conference, First Baptist church, Indianapolis, Ind.
Feb. 3-7. Ministers' week, Chicago Theological seminary. Including the Alden-Tuthill lectures, by Dr. Arthur E. Morgan of the TVA.
Feb. 6, 7. Illinois council of religious education, Dr. Kagawa speaker, Peoria, Ill.
Feb. 10. Union ministers meeting, Dr. Kagawa speaker, 2:30 p.m. 6:00 p.m. Laymen's dinner, Chicago.
Feb. 22. Dr. Kagawa of Japan, Duluth, Minn.
Feb. 10-12. Meeting of International council of religious education, Dr. Kagawa speaker, Chicago.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

An Undenominational Journal of Religion

VOLUME LII CHICAGO, DECEMBER 25, 1935 NUMBER 52

EDITORIAL

AMERICAN Protestants will focus attention on Indianapolis for the next ten days. There, from December 28 to January 1, the quadrennial convention of the Student Volunteer movement will be in session. And also there, from December 29 to January 1, the Federal council of churches will hold its first seminar on the cooperative movement. The importance of the Student Volunteer convention is already assured by the most brilliant list of speakers to be gathered for a missionary conference in years. Outstanding are the names of the archbishop of York and Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa, but there are many others who can be counted on to deliver equally memorable addresses. Even more importance, however, may attach to the cooperative seminar. Under the auspices of the social service commission of the Federal council, a group of leaders of the cooperative movement will meet official delegates from the various denominations, state and local councils of churches, and a few delegates chosen at large, to explore the promise of the cooperative movement as a way of achieving in practice the social ideals of the churches. Dr. Kagawa will appear twice on the seminar program. A visit to actual cooperatives in Indiana will take up one day. Such a gathering, coming at the opening of the tour which Kagawa is to make in behalf of the cooperative movement, should have immediate and important effects throughout the American churches.

Fateful Days at Indianapolis

President Masaryk Retires

NOW in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and the eighteenth year of his presidency of the Czechoslovak republic, President Masaryk has resigned the office which he has held through all the turbulent postwar years. More than any other person he was the creator of the state over which he has presided. While a refugee in England during the war he lectured at Oxford and organized the movement for the independence of his country. He was the scholar, the humanitarian, the idealist and the patriot in politics. In early life a blacksmith, he won an education by his own efforts, became a professor at the University of Prague, member of the Austro-Hungarian parliament, champion of abused minorities, editor of scholarly and critical magazines, author of books on history and philosophy. For a time he was a professorial lecturer at the University of Chicago and his daughter was with Jane Addams at Hull house. All this experience entered into the making of a mature and cosmopolitan personality which, with all its enrichment of culture and acquaintance with the wide world, lost none of its interest in the welfare of the common people and the development of its own people. He headed the government of one of the smaller nations of Europe, but he was a tower of strength for the maintenance of stability in the most unstable corner of the continent. He has earned his retirement, as he long ago earned the respect of the world, but he will be sadly missed.

Congregational-Christians Vote for Peace

SOME very interesting data on the opinions of a representative group are contained in the results of the plebiscite conducted by the council for social action of the Congregational and Christian churches. Other polls on war and peace have told the attitudes of the clergy. This one, although still incomplete, already gives the attitudes of 100,000 laymen, including men and women. Returns are classified by sex and by age groups. The women are a little more pacifistic than the men, and the men over 35 are more militaristic than those under 35—who would have to do the fighting in a "next war." Out of the whole hundred thousand, only a few more than 6,000 will support any war that the government may hereafter declare, while 14,000 declare that they will support no war; 31,000 will support a war only if and when the territory of the United States has been actually invaded; and 41,000 will support only a war declared after every agency of peace has been utilized in vain. In other words, 94 per cent of those who voted in this plebiscite refuse to bind (or blind) their consciences in advance by asserting that they will support any war that we may hereafter be involved in—the very thing that has been made a test of fitness for citizenship in the naturalization of

aliens. Professor Macintosh would have a lot of company if he were a citizen, instead of being still an alien because of his avowal of the same sentiments as those expressed by 94 per cent of the Congregational-Christian group! Membership in the league of nations is disapproved by a small majority, in the ratio of about five to four, but there is a vote of seven to one in favor of consultation with other nations in support of the Kellogg pact and other peace agreements. Five to three oppose a larger army and navy, two to one favor abolition of compulsory military training, and eight to one vote for government control of the munitions industry.

Whom Was Lincoln *Warning?*

IT'S an old American trick to try to settle a question—particularly a question having political bearings—with a quotation from Abraham Lincoln. Sometimes, when the voluminous works of the immortal President have not sufficed, quotations have been provided to order. The wets have tried that on several occasions. Now, however, the WPA authorities of New York, apparently believing that those employed on relief projects in the parks could display a little more alacrity in their work, come forward with another Lincoln quotation. Large posters now adorn all WPA projects in the metropolis bearing "A message to park workers from a great American." And, under a standardized Lincoln portrait, stand these words: "The habits of our whole species fall into three great classes—useful labor, useless labor and idleness. Of these the first only is meritorious, and to it all the products of labor rightfully belong; but the two latter, while they exist, are heavy pensioners upon the first, robbing it of a large portion of its just rights. The only remedy for this is to, so far as possible, drive useless labor and idleness out of existence." Assuming that this is genuine Lincolniana—it sounds like a passage from the early period when he was making "lyceum" speeches—the question remains to whom the warning is most applicable, WPA laborers who are loafing on the job, or the WPA chiefs who hand out jobs which, in many cases, are perilously close to coming under the head of "useless labor." Of course, it may not be that way in New York, but we can think of places where, if the Lincoln "message" is to be displayed at all, it had better be at headquarters.

Methodist Conference Held Liable for Bond Issue

METHODIST churches, conferences and institutions are going to get themselves into a difficult financial position unless they can decide whether or not they want the Methodist Episcopal church to be considered a single corporation, or at least whether or not they want the conferences to be considered as corporations controlling all the property of churches and institutions within their respective areas, and can adjust their financial policy to the theory they adopt. Representatives of bondholders have secured a decision from the United States district court in Portland, Oregon, holding the Oregon conference liable for principal and interest amounting to $92,000 on bonds of the Wesleyan hospital at Marshfield, Oregon. Similar cases are pending elsewhere, involving church and institutional bonds backed—legally or morally or both—by Methodist conferences. The legalities are doubtful enough to make the outcome of such cases problematical, though the Oregon decision is significant, and the resources of the conferences are such as to make the value of large judgments against them uncertain. But one thing is clear: When a Methodist conference or any other ecclesiastical body has represented that its backing gives security to the bonds issued by a church or a hospital, then it ought to see to it that it does give security. There is reason to believe that in connection with some of these bond issues there has been—in perfectly good faith, no doubt—a representation of corporate solidarity that did not legally exist. But whether it did or not, if it was held out to the investors as an inducement for the purchase of the bonds, it cannot honorably be repudiated when the time comes to pay them. Where such guarantees have not been given for the debts of independent corporations, it must be remembered that a church has obligations to the donors of funds for specific purposes, as well as to bond-buyers. That is the reason why the Methodist church must decide—and ought to have decided long ago—whether its separate corporations really are separate and independent, or whether the assets of its general organizations constitute a common fund for the backing of all Methodist enterprises, regardless of what they were given for.

Is China to See a New Student Uprising?

SIMULTANEOUSLY official Chinese opposition to Japan's imperialistic advance in northern China has collapsed and a portent of possible resistance from a new quarter has appeared. Last week, with the acquiesence of the Nanking government, an "autonomous" administration was set up for the Chinese provinces of Hopei and Chahar. In this region only officials approved by the Japanese will be allowed to function; Japanese military "advisers" will have control of troop movements, and the financial as well as political directions of the central Chinese government will be ignored. This new "autonomous" government does not, to be sure, include all the five provinces which the Japanese army originally announced would be taken over. But it does include a huge portion of north China inside the great wall, including the great cities of Peiping and Tientsin. And no one expects that the Japanese aggression will be halted before the other three provinces of Suiyuan, Shansi and Shantung are separated from Chinese control. However, Japanese with even short memories must have been made uneasy by the bursting out of anti-Japanese student demonstrations in Peiping. Showing a daring which neither Chinese politicians nor soldiers in the former capital have shown, thousands of students from government and mission colleges poured into the streets last week demanding a popular uprising to check the Japanese

advance. The movement was suppressed immediately, and doubtless can be kept down in Peiping where Japanese troops can be employed. But it may spread to other parts of China, and if it does it may produce a genuine crisis. Chinese students showed that their influence on public affairs is far from negligible when, in 1919, their demonstrations forced the government to repudiate the Shantung clauses of the Versailles treaty, which it had accepted, and drove out of power that very Anfu clique which Japan is now restoring to office in the new "autonomous" region of north China. If the students persist in their rioting they may force the hand of Nanking.

Eastern Orthodox Bishop Seeks Episcopal Status

GOOD order and discipline within the church, rather than any theory of episcopacy or any question as to the validity of his consecration, seems to be the issue raised by the appointment of Bishop Torok as assistant to the (Episcopal) bishop of Eau Claire, Wisconsin. Nevertheless, the incident has provoked much discussion and has been the occasion of a strong letter of protest from Bishops Manning of New York, Ward of Erie, and Mann of Pittsburgh to the presiding bishop. Bishop Torok, a Hungarian, was consecrated by bishops of the Eastern Orthodox church. Application was made some time ago for his admission to the American Episcopal church as a bishop. According to the Churchman, a committee appointed to consider his case reported to the house of bishops that his consecration was "valid though irregular," but the house of bishops neither received the report nor acted upon it. Bishop Wilson of Eau Claire thereafter received Dr. Torok as a bishop and made him his own assistant, thus giving him, as the Living Church puts it, "regular status as a bishop in this church in good standing, but without seat or vote in the house of bishops." If an inference may be drawn from the ecclesiastical complexion of the forces pro and con, it would be that Bishop Torok is considered as a reinforcement for the Catholic element of the church, though naturally this feature is not stressed in the discussion. The technical issue is whether or not Bishop Torok, even allowing that he is a genuine bishop, is a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America or can be made one by a single bishop when the house of bishops has refused to admit him. The Living Church hoped that the "troublesome questions concerning his status had been settled" by Bishop Wilson's action. On the contrary, it is more troublesome than ever, and more widely publicized.

The Liggett Murder and the Outlook For a Third Party

WHETHER or not the nation realizes it, there is a direct connection between the murder of Walter W. Liggett, in Minneapolis, and the prospects for an important third party movement, either in 1936 or four years later. Mr. Liggett was a crusading journalist. There were assertions from time to time that his crusading zeal ran away with his scrupulousness in the use of facts. Such, for example, was the retort of the republican national committee to the Liggett book, "The Rise of Herbert Hoover," with its sensational account of Mr. Hoover's career as a mining engineer in China. Again, it had been charged that the editor's reforming fervor was not beyond being tempered by timely financial contributions. The very men who are now being accused of the murder had previously charged that Mr. Liggett had tried to "shake them down." But such charges do not change the fact that Mr. Liggett was conducting a vigorous campaign against many forms of corruption in two cities which have become notorious for their vice and crime conditions, that he had declared the governor of Minnesota and the mayors of the twin cities directly responsible for those conditions, and that he had become convinced that the governor intended to silence him in some fashion. Only two weeks before his murder Mr. Liggett had been acquitted from a vice charge involving two young girls—a charge which he had insisted was a "frame-up" initiated by the governor. Governor Olson is the farmer-labor executive of Minnesota, and the municipal governments of the twin cities are in the hands of the same party. Every practical proposal for the formation of a national third party with genuine political importance has involved participation by Governor Olson and his party. The recent radio appeal broadcast to the nation for the formation of such a party was made by Governor Olson. But before there is the slightest chance of such a movement acquiring importance Governor Olson and the farmer-labor party leaders of Minnesota must now absolutely clear themselves and their party of the slightest responsibility for this assassination.

War Debtors Repudiate— As Usual

JUST to keep the record straight and to afford a reminder that debts cannot be settled by leaving them on the hook until the dust has settled thickly enough to hide them, it may be remarked that on December 15 eleven European governments defaulted on payments of interest and principal to the amount of $114,820,848.24 on debts due to the United States, bringing the total of their arrearages to $965,414,177.54 as of that date. The twelfth debtor nation, Finland, made its payment of $230,453 as usual. The defaulters are Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Rumania. In reply to a courteous note from Secretary Hull indicating that the United States would lend an attentive ear to any proposals Great Britain might feel disposed to offer in regard to meeting her indebtedness, the British ambassador replied that his government would be "glad to resume discussions whenever the situation warrants the hope that a satisfactory result might be reached," but that there had been so little change in conditions since the last interchanges on this subject, on June 4, 1934, that it seemed not desirable

to make further proposals at this time. All of which cannot but inspire in the private debtor the fervent wish that he might wave aside his own obligations with equal suavity. The other debtor nations simplified their procedure still further. They said nothing about it. Their technique was simply that of those who throw inconvenient bills in the waste-paper basket. All this is not to express an opinion as to whether the debts might not better be canceled, or whether payment might not do us more harm than good, or whether we ought not to admit that it was our war from the start and that we ought not only to cancel the debts but to pay the allies for fighting for us before we got into it. Maybe so, maybe not. It is only to say that the debts are not settled until they are settled either by payment, or by cancellation, or by agreement—and that they cannot be settled by repudiation.

The Collapse of Sanctions

THOUGH deeply disappointed at the outcome of the effort by the League of Nations to apply sanctions to Italy, The Christian Century does not share in the wrath which international opinion is heaping upon Great Britain and France for their betrayal of the league and Ethiopia. We are bound to remind our readers that from the start, in spite of our contrary hope and prayer, our more realistic expectation envisaged the certain failure of the attempt to restrain Italy by force unless the private interest of Great Britain in preventing Italy's conquest of Ethiopia was substantial enough to justify the risk of war in defense of that interest. This expectation was not based upon what the newspapers are now calling the "perfidy" of England, but upon what we have long regarded as the impossibility of using the war system as an instrument of either altruism or idealism.

From this point of view, England is to be praised for having carried the sanctions bluff as far as she did. To make the bluff worth anything at all it had to be supported with pledges of the utmost good faith and with solemn asseverations that she would see the thing through. The bluff required that the British fleet be sent to the Mediterranean as a gesture of Britain's purpose to engage Italy in battle rather than allow the sanctions to fail. In addition it was necessary to secure some indication from the United States as to whether our government would cooperate with or nullify the sanctions measures. All these steps were carefully taken, in a manner which convinced the world that England meant business. The double motive—Britain's imperial interest in estopping the extension of Mussolini's empire, and her reiterated loyalty to the doctrine of "collective security"—disarmed both cynic and idealist of any doubt as to her purpose to pay the price of success.

Her sudden reversal of policy struck the world with amazement. No less was the British public itself shocked by the announcement that Sir Samuel Hoare and M. Laval had proposed terms to Mussolini which would give Italy nearly one-half of Ethiopia including a portion of the old Amharic empire, with economic control over another vast portion of Haile Selassie's kingdom. Neither Mussolini nor the League of Nations has at this writing accepted the terms, but the league front is broken and the sanctions, while still legally in effect, have been weakened beyond repair. What the procedure from this point on will be is hardly more than a technical question. The vitality has gone out of the sanctions, and this first attempt in history to apply international coercion against a war-making nation has collapsed.

To describe the British policy as a bluff is not to discredit it. The government was compelled by a popular vote last summer to embark upon this policy. The English people were clamoring for sanctions. In yielding to the popular demand the government probably hoped that economic sanctions would be sufficient to bring Italy to terms without maddening her to the point of an act of war. But the responsible British statesmen knew that the moment these sanctions passed into the military phase the very people who had clamored for sanctions would turn and rend the government. Therefore these statesmen, convinced that the oil embargo would have to be defended by war, dropped their grandiose mask of unselfish devotion to "collective security" and offered to settle with Mussolini on practically his own terms.

From one point of view this is indeed a betrayal. On the surface there is not a single consideration which can be urged in condonation of Britain's reversal of policy. But it is unfair to judge too narrowly. It will be said that if the British government did not intend to push its sanctions policy to the bitter end, by actually risking its navy in an engagement with the Italians, it was wrong ever to start on the sanctions course. This, however, is not realistic. The British government *had* to embark on sanctions. If it had not done so it would have been replaced by a government which would have done so. Besides, there was a chance that the economic pressure upon Italy would be sufficient to scare her into submission. And then there was the hope that France could be detached from her entente with Italy and united with England and the league in presenting a solid front against the aggressor.

Neither of these contingencies could be tested save by experiment—that is, by actually invoking sanctions. The experiment failed. Mussolini was unmoved, and France balked. England was thus left to face the prospect of a war with Italy which she would have to wage practically alone. Despite her imperial stake in the outcome of Mussolini's adventure, her statesmen decided that the risk of a naval conflict in the Mediterranean was too great. If there is to be a war, they reasoned, let it be one where the issue is more substantial, more commensurate with the risk involved.

By the time these words are read, the prime minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, will have made his defense in the house of commons. At this writing his lips are still "sealed." But that it was the practical certainty of war which caused the government to shrink from any further application of sanctions against Italy can-

not be doubted. This was clearly stated by M. Laval in the French chamber of deputies on December 17 when, almost like a child that had been deceived, he complained that "Article 16 might have landed us in war." Of course it might! That is precisely what it was intended to do, and what France, when she signed the covenant of the league, explicitly agreed that it should do. It may be presumed that Mr. Baldwin's defense will be a similar plaint.

This childish explanation of the change of front is the first honest word that has been spoken by European statesmen since the Ethiopian question became a league issue last September. From the beginning, the whole diplomatic fabric, with "collective security" as its central pattern, has been woven of grandiose pretension and downright lies. The responsible statesmen of Britain and France knew all the time that sanctions meant war, that the moment sanctions passed the platonic stage and really began to be *felt* by Italy, Mussolini, faced with the inevitable collapse of his dictatorship, would risk an attack upon the British fleet on the chance that fate would favor him—since he would hang anyway, it might as well be for stealing a sheep as a lamb. To say that Baldwin and Hoare and Laval and their colleagues did not know this is to insult their intelligence.

They knew more than this. Despite the loud clamor of the British public and of the pro-league section of the French public for the application of *effective* sanctions, they knew that this popular support would melt away when sanctions developed to the point of war. They knew that no nation would support a serious war except for its own national interest. The war system is indissolubly linked with nationalism, and will not lend itself to disinterested and idealistic service in keeping the peace. War cannot become a function of internationalism. The moment it is dissociated from the glamor and motivation of national interest it becomes stale, flat and unprofitable.

These responsible statesmen knew still more. They knew that if they allowed themselves to be betrayed into the folly of baiting Mussolini to the point of desperation, he would be joined by allies—what allies, they could, perhaps, guess, but once war was started one man's guess would be as good as another; every nation would follow the line of its own national interest. They knew still more. They knew that the Laval government was weak; that French opinion is increasingly anti-British and pro-Italian; that France is settling down to the conviction (which is probably well founded) that England is bound by her own interest to stand with France when the latter is attacked next time by Germany, but that Italy has to be courted; that Egypt and India would capitalize a war situation to achieve greater if not full independence; that it is by no means clear which side Russia would be on, though her apparent present interest is with Britain and France.

In a word, the factors were so complex that no man could calculate how a war situation would shape itself. Yet the league could not have had more simple conditions under which to apply sanctions. Japan, Germany and the United States, all non-members, did not have to be considered in adopting a sanctions policy. England had to consider only France, her natural ally. It was the most lucky combination imaginable for the testing of the league theory that the way to insure peace is to make it so dangerous to break the peace that no nation will have the audacity to attempt it.

That conception of peace has now been proved fallacious and impracticable. Perhaps no conception of peace is practicable within the framework of the present international economic order. There is therefore no sense in getting angry with our governments. Every government in the world would, in like circumstances, do as England has done, as France has done. Perhaps not so well as England has done. To England's credit let it be said that in trying to live up to her league obligation she created and supported the most formidable and impressive lie which any modern government has ever projected, and confessed to it only when the interest of her imperilled empire demanded that she tell the truth. The defenders of the sanctions principle can ask for no greater loyalty than that a nation shall sacrifice its honor. This sacrifice the government of England has made.

Retrospect

As this year of 1935 closes the profound paradox of modern life impresses itself with renewed insistence upon the human spirit. In a time when the tools and techniques for widening the area of man's enlightenment are constantly being multiplied, man himself feels that he wanders deeper and deeper into darkness. One by one so many of the faint, flickering fires of hope that have burned, however feebly and intermittently, on the horizons of the future seem to be guttering out. A sense of impending tragedy grows, and with it a sense of human incapacity. The tale of the year now being completed is the tale of a traveler plunging ever deeper and deeper into the dark forest. But if he cannot see the way ahead, may there not be some value in reviewing the path which he has already covered?

I

Domestic politics in the United States during the past year has seen a striking reversal in the position of the major political parties. Overwhelmed in the presidential election of 1932, and almost annihilated in the congressional elections of 1934, the republican party ends the present year convinced that it has a fair chance to win the election of 1936, while the democratic party finds itself, to its puzzled annoyance, more and more on the defensive. The reasons seem to be more psychological than political. Judged by the ordinary standards of politics it might be expected that the many rising indices of industry, together with the climbing graphs of the stockmarket, would give the administration not only support, but popularity, throughout the business community. It obviously is not so.

The year has witnessed a marked decline in the per-

sonal popularity of President Roosevelt, while his administration has become a target for the reproaches of countless business organizations. Led by the United States chamber of commerce, the National association of manufacturers, and the du Pont-financed American Liberty league, business and finance are rapidly being welded into a compact anti-administration army which seemingly intends to fight the coming presidential campaign on the issue of national adherence to unrestricted laissez faire. The strength of this sentiment is greatest in the heavily industrialized northeast; the political strength of the administration remains in the solid south, the farm vote and the ranks of organized labor.

For President Roosevelt the year must have been one of disappointment. The Roosevelt domestic policy has sought national prosperity, free from the penalties of the business cycle and diffused throughout the population with a rough approximation of social justice, by means of methods of economic planning applied within the framework of capitalism. By the time the year opened it had become fairly clear that the NRA, as a concrete means for attaining these ends, was a failure. The idea of "voluntary" regulation by business, except in the direction of immediate self-interest, had proved a chimera; such economic and industrial reform as might be secured would depend, it had become apparent, on the stringency and constancy of federal policing. In the middle of the year the supreme court delivered a still more destructive blow to the Roosevelt policy. It not only held the NRA unconstitutional, but it unanimously declared that the federal government cannot control intrastate business, and then so defined intrastate business as to return to state control practically every phase of economic life except the actual processes of transportation across state lines. Under the present constitution, the NRA decision made it clear, the whole idea of a national planned economy is illegal.

To offset this body-blow to his domestic policy, President Roosevelt ends the year with four major claims to achievement. All of them, however, are open to attack. The first rests the improvement in farm income on the operations of the AAA. The final importance of this as a political asset will depend on the decision of the supreme court regarding the constitutionality of the AAA and of the scheme of taxation which it embodies. The second claim of the administration points to the rising indices of production, employment and wages, as well as of capital return. The attack in this case takes the form of a counter-claim that these rises have gained continuity and importance only since the supreme court knocked out the former basis of the Roosevelt economic policy. The third claim points to the series of Hull treaties, of which the latest and most important is that with Canada, seeing in these promise of a restored foreign trade. Here the attack is that which has always been leveled against any lowering of tariffs. Finally, the administration claims to have kept the nation free from foreign entanglements and assuredly at peace in a world hastening toward war. To which its opponents retort that the neutrality legislation responsible for this achievement was forced through congress in the face of strenuous opposition from the White House and state department.

The event of most lasting importance in the field of domestic politics during the year has been the adoption of the social security legislation. The principle thus adopted will have a permanent and increasing effect on the national development. Unfortunately for the administration, the immediate political value of this legislation is likely to be largely lost because of two factors. First, the legislation enacted requires concurrent state action to give it adequate effect, and the harassed state governments are showing no eagerness to undertake this added burden. Second, the conservative nature of the administration's initial proposal, while enough to rouse the wrath of the business interests which must shoulder new taxation because of it, makes the benefits so small that it plays into the hands of such a scheme as that preached by Dr. Townsend.

II

In the field of international affairs the year has witnessed an unmistakable progress toward catastrophe. There have been periods when, for brief moments, men were able to persuade themselves that the drift toward dictatorship had been checked, that the international anarchy was giving way to an international community of interest and order, and that there was good prospect that diplomatic means would be found by which to make the war preparations of the nations eventuate in peace. Alas, as the year closes the major nations are found engaged in the most feverish armament race in history, international diplomacy has just been revealed in its most cynical adventure of modern times, and the prestige of the dictators is higher than at any time since Austerlitz. Concomitantly, the conviction that another world war—or at least a general European war, probably involving the far east—is inevitable has grown. "It is likely," said the archbishop of York on landing in America two weeks ago, "that there will have to be one more great conflict in Europe to definitely establish once and for all an international authority. This conflict will be the most horrible of horribles and possibly this generation will be called on to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives." Another war to end war!

Comment in another column makes it unnecessary to review here the unhappy path by which the nations have traveled, during the year now closing, to the present stark revelation of the failure of their Ethiopian policies. It must not be forgotten, however, that the year which goes out leaving Europe sunk in despair, likewise sees Japan rapidly pushing forward the extension of her imperial interests in the far east. The triumph of Mussolini contains the threat of an almost immediate shattering of the precarious alliances and status of Europe, while the occupation of Chinese territory by Japan may not produce major repercussions in the orient for some years. Yet both seem equally fated to lead to continental warfare.

In this field of foreign policy the United States, dur-

ing 1935, has pursued a twisting and contradictory course. Early in the year the national fear of foreign entanglements led to rejection by the senate of a proposal, having administration endorsement, for entrance into the world court. In this vote the influence of the emotional but uninformed part of the population which responds to the incitement of the Hearst press and of the radio priest, Father Coughlin, was all too clearly demonstrated. As the year closed the nation gave this same policy further emphasis by setting up an "independent commonwealth" in the Philippines, thus taking a long stride toward withdrawal from entanglements in the far east. Nevertheless, the nation permitted the holding of the most extensive and provocative naval maneuvers in its history in the immediate vicinity of Japan, and the closing hours of the year are apparently to see the naval conference at London go on the rocks largely because of the conviction held by the Japanese and American admirals in attendance there that presently the fleets of the two powers will be at war.

The one heartening achievement of the year with regard to American foreign policy lay in the adoption of the neutrality legislation, already mentioned. But since this was only stop-gap legislation, expiring two months hence, it is impossible to estimate the final importance of the action. Accomplishment of the ends which, we believe, most of the nation desires, still requires mandatory legislation to be applied impartially to all belligerents in time of war and involving a practical cessation of American commercial relations with such belligerents.

Of all the nations, the only one which would seem to have reason to be approximately satisfied with its achievements of 1935 is Russia. The soviet union, if reports are reliable, has apparently reached new high levels of economic success under the operations of its second five-year plan. On the other hand, the call of the comintern for a united front with bourgeois liberals in opposition to the spread of fascism shows the political anxiety of the communist chieftains.

III

The national economic and social problem seems to be little closer to solution today than it was when the year opened. The social security bill has been passed, but its benefits remain uncertain. The rehabilitation of the farmers goes forward, but in imminent peril of legal disruption. Unemployment, however, remains very high—probably above eleven million—while the prospect for its absorption in private industry remains very low. The federal government is seeking to support less than a third of the unemployed on the four billion dollars appropriated to the WPA and its allied agencies; it insists that the rest of the army of jobless must be classed as "unemployables" and passed back to the states for support. This responsibility the states are undertaking reluctantly and give every promise of discharging inadequately.

Child labor is reported to be increasing rapidly, safeguards under the NRA having been destroyed by the courts and the states having again refused to enact the child labor amendment. In the south, the year has brought a general appreciation of the indefensible nature of the sharecropping system underlying the south's basic industry, together with an equally general expression of hopelessness as to its improvement. The year has also brought the organized labor movement in the United States close to disruption, the cleavage coming between old-line craft and the newly emerging industrial unions.

Perhaps the most hopeful development in the national economy during the past twelve months has been that of the cooperative movement, now growing rapidly and being even more widely discussed. In this development the churches, eager to make their social idealism effective, are showing a deep interest.

IV

And what of religion during 1935? Here and there small episodes of importance, bearing the seeds of hope, have occurred. On the whole, however, the year has produced little of memorable import to the world of religion. One is struck, on reading over again the news pages of 1935 in the denominational press, with the routine and unimportant character of most church life. There is plenty of activity among the churches, but there is little accomplishment except in parochial and transitory terms. Most church energy is devoted, directly or indirectly, to budget balancing.

Of church events rising above the parochial level, 1935 has seen at least the following: The continued resistance by the churches of Germany to encroachment by the nazi state. This resistance still rests upon the claim that there are clearly delimited areas for church and state authority—a claim which cannot finally be established without, by that act, robbing religion of most of its importance to society. But the steadfastness of the German clergy has been beyond praise, and has given a skeptical world a renewed appreciation of the social potencies still contained in religion. In contrast, the impotence of the pope in dealing with the strong-arm policies of Mussolini—an impotence insisted on by the Roman Catholic archbishop of Westminster when he called the pope "a helpless old man"—has emphasized the hollowness of the authoritarianism with which such a church might seek to challenge the authoritarianism of the modern state.

In the United States, relations have notably improved between the religious groups, such events as the holding of a national Institute of Human Relations by the National Conference of Jews and Christians last summer, and the comradeship of hundreds of Christian ministers with Jewish leaders in opposing American participation in the Berlin Olympics having contributed to this end. However, it would be nonsense to suggest that these advances toward good manners indicate equal advance toward solution of the basic issues which divide these groups. Among Christians one great voice—that of Stanley Jones—has spoken out in behalf of a new crusade for unity, and one great denominational family—the Methodists—has put up for adoption a plan for unification. It remains to be seen what effect the appeal of Stanley Jones

will have; it will be of interest to see whether he is willing to accept for his own denomination a plan to achieve union which involves formal acceptance of the principle of racial separation.

Diaries

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: We are nearing the year 1936. On all sides we see displayed attractive diaries of all shapes and sizes. Friends may be thinking of buying me one. Shall I keep a diary in 1936 or shall I not? That is the question.

I had an old friend who was staggered and almost incredulous when I told him that I had never kept a diary in my life—at least not for more than the space between January the first and January the eighth. He thought everybody kept diaries. Since he had been a boy at school, for more than sixty years he had never missed recording each day the story of his doings.

He belongs to a time in which men not only wrote letters, but kept diaries, and there is much to be said in defense of that practice. A diary is an autobiography in daily parts. It is a memento of things done and things still to be done. It is a way of escape from the fog which descends upon our memories of past days. It is, I imagine, a comfort for those who can see once more the old familiar faces, if only in a book.

There is without question a case to be made for the keeping of a diary. Then why, O Quintus, have you never kept one?

There are many minor reasons—laziness at nightfall; the absence of anything unusual to record; the entire lack of system in the disposition of this unhappy mortal. But there are other things to be said.

What is to be entered? Are we to lay bare our souls, as our fathers did? But they left very often a wrong impression by their diaries. On the very day on which those fathers of ours recorded their humiliations, they probably ate their victuals and smoked their pipes and exchanged their jokes like other men. They *selected* for their diaries. And if I keep one, I must select. But what?

My great thoughts? My anything but great thoughts? My heights? Or my depths? When I write, of what reader must I be thinking? And shall I become very self-conscious and put down not what I did or thought but what I should like others to suppose that I did or thought?

It is easy enough to record that on such and such a day I went to business by the 9:24 and returned rather late by the 7:50, or that I had a meal with my old friend, Peter Quince. But to be a real diary there should be more than that.

Of course if I were a Boswell and knew a Samuel Johnson, I should keep a diary. But I am not—thank heaven!—a Boswell; and I do not know—alas!—a Samuel Johnson.

No sir, I shall not keep a diary in 1936. I shall not even begin. If posterity suffers, it must suffer. My thoughts shall perish with the day; my deeds shall be unrecorded when the night comes. But I wonder sometimes.

Ever yours doubtful,
QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

Carols Broadcast From a City Tower

LIKE strains from unseen angel choirs
The music floats across the night
Till, kindled by a song, once more
The great Star beckons with its light;
And Christmas shoppers, homeward bound,
Whose arms are laden, find they hold
No sundry trifles of the mart
But myrrh and frankincense and gold.

ADELAIDE LOVE.

Christmas 1935

WELL, shall we mock at Him
This Christmas time,
And sing of peace when we have only fighting?
No, let's at least be honest in our weakness:
"God, we have failed again.
We don't seem very apt
At being children—
And some of us are sorry—"
But why try again?
After so many failures we are fools
To think we can do better.
The stars come out so slowly,
And in the quiet
Surely there is the hush of angel wings—
"God, let us go,
We've made a ghastly Christmas!"

O Son of God,
How can He love us so?

MARTHA PROVINE LEACH TURNER.

Come, Holy Babe!

DID Bethlehem's stable loathe
Its drab, dull stone?
And did the oxen sense their common lot?
The hay its coarse inadequacy?
The earth-pressed floor, unworthiness?

My heart is shabby, too:
Come, Manger Light!
Make my dull spirit glow
This Silent Night!

MARY DICKERSON BANGHAM.

Christians and Communists

By Harry F. Ward

SHOULD Christians and communists work together for ends common to both despite the things on which they differ? Can they?

These are burning questions in aggressive church circles. They will become even more acute. They appear first at the point of possible joint action against impending war. They extend to the issue of a possible political party uniting workers, farmers and professionals. They take on even wider significance because of the recent decision of the Comintern (communist international) that the communist parties are now ready to participate with other forces in the struggle to preserve democratic rights in order to prevent the extension of fascism. For this imperative purpose they are even ready to participate in a coalition government which is genuinely anti-fascist—an immediate issue in France. They are laying on the table for the time being their revolutionary demand in order to try to secure unity against fascism before it is too late. Thus they hope to avoid repetition of the disastrous story of Germany. Therefore those who desire to maintain and extend the democratic process must now decide whether they will participate in united efforts which include communists.

Two Viewpoints

Those Christians who have already answered yes to these questions have done so under the pressure of an approaching historic catastrophe of unparalleled magnitude. They are burdened with the realization of what will happen to millions of human personalities if fascism with its increasing drive toward war cannot be prevented from capturing the democratic countries. To them it is clear that the forces which make jointly for fascism and for war in the declining period of the capitalist economy are so powerful that there is no possibility of defeating them except by uniting in action for this purpose all the forces which seek to move life in the contrary direction. To them it seems self-evident that because of their dynamic character the communist forces must be engaged in the allied defense of freedom and peace if the struggle is to be won. Those who realize this also face the practical question whether the participation of the communists in the battle does not prevent the unity which is essential to success. But to succumb to this dilemma as insuperable is to surrender the future without a struggle. Since united action is the condition of now defeating fascism and war, it becomes necessary to test its possibility by bending every energy to the effort to achieve it.

At the other extreme are those Christians who say, "We are with you in the fight against war and fascism if you will also make it the fight against communism." It goes without saying that Christians who object ethically to communism will not lend aid and comfort to the red hunt which is being promoted by the gutter press, the patriots for profit, and the powerful financial interests behind both. If religious emotionalism should be used to increase the prejudice and passion naturally engendered by the forces of privilege against the communists then we would face the danger of a civil war of the worst kind. I remember one summer evening in a little town in the center of Moscow province in 1924 when a Russian Christian pacifist was telling me about a movement for the return of the old order which he had been invited to join. "If that happens," he said, "this land will run with blood from one end to the other. The slaughter of the past will be as nothing to that. And the cross of Jesus Christ uplifted by the priests will be in the forefront of the killing."

The Right of Criticism

The imperative necessity to avoid being drawn into the anti-communist whirlwind does not mean abdication of the right of criticism of communism and opposition to it. No one who enters a united movement for common objectives, on the basis of a program mutually agreed to, yields this right at all. Communists and socialists, both here and elsewhere, are gradually uniting in this way. Yet they continue to criticize and oppose each other at certain political points. But as a result of their united action they do this in a different spirit and with a different result. If Christians cannot act in this way it means that Marxism is proving itself able to produce a more realistic and socially beneficial type of tolerance than Christianity. In that case it will therefore find the truth quicker, and also the freedom without which the search for truth cannot proceed.

In the struggle against war, it is a contradiction to say that one can be equally against fascism and communism, because their attitudes to war are diametrically opposed. Fascism glorifies war, prepares for it and wages it aggressively. The fascist state is demonstrably a war-making state. Communism is against war, is determined to abolish it by elimination of its causes, but is prepared to wage it defensively when attacked, as a regrettable necessity. This position extends to civil war in the time of social revolution. Those Christians who determine their attitude toward cooperation with communists by this fact should consider what would happen in regard to it if the rest of the world would accept the proposals for disarmament made at Geneva by the soviet union. Also they might ask themselves whether they feel differently toward preachers who will renounce all war except defense against invasion than they do toward communists who take identically the same position. If so, why?

Attitudes Toward War

As a matter of fact the attitude of fascism and communism toward the democratic process is not the same. It is vitally different. Fascism creates a personal dictator as the instrument of the will of the ruling class. It glorifies and seeks to restore absolute

authority. It proposes dictatorship as the permanent, final form of control. Communism seeks to set up a group dictatorship, asserting this to be the necessary control of the majority in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. It declares this to be a temporary necessity until the active resistance of the minority to the will of the majority is overcome. It proposes the complete rejection of absolute authority, including finally the passing of the state itself. It seeks the continued extension of democratic controls over all the processes of life. Whether it can accomplish this is another question. (A detailed analysis of this thesis in operation in the soviet union is to be found in my volume, "In Place of Profit.")

Testing Democracy in Practice

It is obvious that if a united movement could now be developed in this country to defend the democratic process against the rising forces of fascism, the thesis of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" will be tested out in our social laboratory. The question whether the democratic process can or cannot provide the way of transition into the next stage of human society will then be practically demonstrated. If it can be used effectively to provide the beginnings of the kind of society which is sought by both communists and Christians, the communists will be as delighted as anybody else because they know that they will thereby be saved a great deal of suffering.

If the fascist dictatorship gets established here it will not be overthrown except by a violent revolution which, in all human probability, will be followed by communist dictatorship. It is not the communists who will determine that, nor the fascists. It is the progressives, who now have the balance of power. They can use it effectively against fascism only with the help of the socialists and communists, whose program and temper will be modified in the process. If the progressives fail to do this, they too will be destroyed in due time by the fascists. The concrete point is the struggle to keep open civil rights to labor and farmers' organizations and to all groups who advocate radical change. The form of transition to the new order is being determined now. An effective alliance to resist immediate subversion of democratic rights by the capitalist forces and to operate the democratic process for imperative social changes is the only way by which we may hope to avoid dictatorship.

Communism and Religion

For Christians who recognize these facts there remains still a vital question. Can they associate, even in action which is necessary to save society from destruction, with those who are anti-religious? Not if they denied religious freedom; but the position of the communist party in the Anglo-Saxon countries is clear on that vital point. There are root differences here which are not to be smoothed over. The question is as hard for communists as for Christians. There is principle and sincere conviction on both sides which are not lightly to be yielded. But what these differences are, and how vital they are, is not to be found out by the traditional processes of emotional argument. Still less is it to be discovered by fight. And in view of the strength of the two forces it is essential to the future of mankind that it be discovered in time whether these differences are so fundamental and irreconcilable that they cannot be adjusted, but must be settled by the process of conflict.

The communist position on religion is demonstrably based upon insufficient data and too limited experience. The type of religion that European communists have known is just as bitter against the radical religious forces as it is against the communists and would deal with them if it could with precisely the same methods of repression. Furthermore, the communist analysis of religion is not true to its own philosophic record. In fact, there does not exist a dialectical analysis of religion. How then are the communists to be convinced of these things and to be shown that social revolutionary dynamic in religion which has never come within their experience or on their horizon? Obviously it can be done effectively only through association in some common action for common ends. Then something happens to both sides. There is an exchange as well as a sharing of experience and knowledge. Then the future attitude of communism to religion is determined by that kind which seeks the emancipation of the masses and not by the kind which helps to exploit them.

Capitalists or Communists?

Those Christians who find it difficult to associate with communists in the struggle for freedom and for peace might remember the attitude of Jesus: "Not he that nameth the name but he that doeth the will." Also it is necessary to ask ourselves whether we find it easier to associate in ecclesiastical enterprises with capitalists who may be practically destroying both religion and society than with communists in undertakings for the protection of the common interests of mankind.

There remains one final consideration and it is decisive. Will the communists keep faith? Will they attempt to dominate the united front for their own sectarian ends? They certainly have in times past. Plenty of experiences and plenty of proof texts can be cited to convict them. They have shown the same competitive spirit as the aggressive religious denominations, they have taken credit unto themselves in their reports just like denominational officials. I once asked a religious leader who was chairman of a united front movement in which the communists were active whether they behaved ethically. "Just about the same as the church people," he said.

The point is that self-interest as well as their social ideal now leads the communists toward the united front. Therefore they have recanted and renounced their sectarianism. Because fascism, which means their organizational destruction, cannot be stopped without a successful united front, they are seeking to avoid everything that would discredit common effort. But it takes time to change those who have been trained in sectarianism. Also there will be frequent backslidings.

The Methodists ought to appreciate this. And certainly all Christians ought to be able to bear with these things as long as the intention is honest and the effort sincere, especially in view of the enormous consequences involved.

There are encouraging signs. The Daily Worker recently welcomed a new paper in the labor field as a friend and hoped that it would come to the support of the labor party. Two years ago it would have attacked the enterprise. In Chicago the secretary of the communist party welcomed the distribution of socialist leaflets criticizing the communist position at a meeting he was addressing, saying he was glad the day had come when this could be done and the criticisms frankly faced and answered. In the recent elections the communists withdrew their candidates and supported the socialist nominees in three cities. In one of these they helped elect a socialist mayor whom they had bitterly and sometimes properly criticized.

In view of the long-standing bitterness between socialists and communists these signs of a change in temper are good omens for the possibility of effective cooperation between Christians and communists. Still more promising is the fact that churches and religious organizations here and there are sending delegates to conferences, and participating in meetings and demonstrations called by the American league against war and fascism, in which the communists have been active from the beginning. Also more preachers and rabbis are joining its religious section.

This is the second of two articles by Dr. Ward, the first, "Judgment Day for Pacifists," having appeared in The Christian Century for December 18.

I Knew the Man

By Raymond Kresensky

As a democratic gesture a "famous preacher" requests that the pallbearers at his funeral shall be men from various walks of life. They are a farmer, an expressman and a janitor from his circle of home friends; and a college dean, a writer of national reputation, and another minister well known in the country, from afar. They all were his intimates and indicate the truly democratic character of the deceased. They are carrying the body from the church. These are their thoughts:

The Farmer: I never did hear the man preach but they say he was pretty good. Must have been to get all these famous people to come to his funeral. I guess Mary is proud of me now walking along here with all these big men. But there he lies. I remember the time he came out and pitched a load of oats into the thresher. He was a good man. Had that touch of the soil to him. Almost like a farmer. We'll miss him. Wish I'd heard him preach.

The Writer: What strange things people give their lives to! I never could understand him. He used to write good themes back at the academy. He had a certain appreciation of the literary. I guess he read more than I ever did. But then a writer isn't supposed to read everything. He used to be fanatical about nature when I first knew him. I've seen him almost stricken dumb before a bit of lovely scenery. Strange man. With all his talents and then throwing his life away on a crowd of forsaken old men and women. I wonder what his gospel really was? It did fire him a bit. I think I'll try going to church once again.

The Janitor: Well, if anybody knew him it was me. I know how finicky he was about heat blowing up around the altar. Always fussing around about the hymn books not being in the right place. Still, I shouldn't think like this now. He's dead. I reckon he's with the blessed. My bones ache this morning. That rheumatism. I wish he was here to talk to me. He always had a line about such things getting better. Even if they never did I liked to hear him say it. I wish I hadn't been so sullen-like when he asked me to do things around the church.

The College Dean: I used to think he was wasting his time with theology but he seemed to have a sure grasp of the spiritual. Still, I can't imagine why a man like him would bury himself in a town like this. No culture here. I wonder what time that train goes back? I hope his wife doesn't ask me to stay for lunch. Life's strange at that. Here I am alive and he's gone. I thought I'd go first. I wish I'd had a little more time to know him better. There was something inspiring about the way he talked of his people. He loved them. I wonder if he thought as much of me as he said? I think I'll look up that text in the Bible he spoke of so often.

The Preacher: I don't know where the honor lies in being pallbearer. I should have had a chance at the memorial talks, or even the sermon. Being the friend of him I was. Good God! what am I saying? Well, I guess we've fought out our theological differences now. First it was the millennium, and then arguments about Isaiah, and later that social gospel he was so enthused about. Almost heretical, I'd say. I guess he was a modernist. No matter. He was a good man. I guess we get to heaven through what we do for our fellowmen as well as what we believe. Faith and works. I wish he'd explained it a little more to me. Too, I wish I'd had the mind to listen and not always kept putting in my own ideas. I could learn from him. He had some good ideas. I must look up that book he was talking about the last time I was here.

The Expressman: He was a good man. A good man. I sat in the pews every Sunday and, I know, half the time I didn't know what it was all about. But he's a good man. I mean, he was a good man. I'll miss him. God bless his soul.

Cooperative Denmark

By Soren K. Ostergaard

FIFTY years ago the farmer in Denmark stood just about where the farmer in the United States stands today. He had to deal through middlemen whose business it was to fix the prices which farmers received as low as possible and the prices which consumers paid as high as possible. Today, if you take the figures of the department of agriculture you find that the dollar spent by the consumer for ten foods in the United States in 1934 was divided 38.5 cents to the farmer and 61.5 cents to distributors and processors. (This after the AAA had "saved" the American farmer!) But if you take the latest figures available for Denmark (those in the Danish Statistical Yearbook for 1934) you find that in 1933 the Danish consumer's dollar was divided 63.4 cents to the farmer and 36.6 cents to distributors and processors. In short, the position of farmers and distributors in the two countries is exactly reversed!

Bishop Grundtvig

In the 'eighties of the last century Denmark was in despair. Natural resources were meager. There was no rich uncle to provide subsidies for impoverished farmers. The worn-out land could not produce grain capable of competing with the virgin soils of America, Russia and Argentina. A German tariff wall had been erected against Danish livestock. The disastrous wars with Prussia and Austria, culminating in the loss of Schleswig-Holstein, threatened political as well as economic collapse. It was all too apparent that if the Danish farmers were to be saved they would have to save themselves.

The first attack on the problem took the form of an attempt to develop the free powers of the individual. The constitution of 1849, which transferred political power from the king to the people, had opened the way to this. It found its prophet in a clergyman, N. F. S. Grundtvig, who, according to the interpretation passed on to me by my father, preached that nature's gifts were always present but that it took man's ingenuity to make them available for his use. The tools of man were science, intelligence, teamwork and industry. With this social philosophy it is no wonder that Grundtvig became the father of the folk high schools, or people's colleges, which have played so important a role in the transformation of Denmark.

These are schools for adults. The winter session is for five months and is attended by men. The summer session of about three months is attended by women. The ages of the students are usually between eighteen and twenty-five. These schools teach the advantages of teamwork as against the old individualism of the countryside. They seek to integrate culture with work and living. They send the young country people back to the farms with a desire to be better farmers. They teach that it is not what a person does, but how he does it, that counts. Rich living comes from understanding. The culture that comes from a trained understanding of nature's processes on the farm is just as real as that which comes from conjugating Greek verbs.

Progress in Dairying

Throughout Denmark, under the influence of the folk schools, plant growing and conservation of the soil became objects of affectionate interest. Science was applied to agriculture and husbandry. The improvement of herds became a national hobby and to compare results milk recording societies were established. The progress in dairying is eloquently exemplified in the following figures taken from "Denmark" (1931) issued annually by the Royal Danish ministry for foreign affairs: In 1900, with five per cent of the cows under control conditions, the average yield of each cow was 6,943 pounds of milk with 3.29 per cent of butter fat, or 220 pounds. In 1929, 48 per cent of the cows were registered by the milk recording societies and their average yield had climbed to 8,217 pounds of milk with 3.86 per cent butter fat, or 317.2 pounds!

The first step in the reconstruction of the Danish farmer was the clear recognition that the old order had to go. He had to work out an entirely different *kind* of agriculture because his worn-out land could not produce grain in competition with the virgin soil of the new world. So he adjusted himself to the situation. He bought cheap corn and cotton seed from America and converted it into Danish butter and bacon, which soon was to find a ready market in England. Shipload upon shipload of feed was sent from America to Denmark. The fertility of corn and cotton fields of America was literally transferred to the soil of Denmark. And today the naturally fertile prairies of America yield less abundant crops than the inferior fields of Denmark!

Progress in Grain Crops

The Danes were satisfied with their imports from America which increased their resources and added to their comforts. Nor did the Americans protest their exports. It seems that Americans are happy when they can send the products of their labor and the resources of their land out of the country. During the past few years there has been much moaning in America because farm exports have fallen off, and we have heard a loud demand that the government devise ways and means to send the products of the country abroad. Just what this policy of reckless export of feed has done to America is eloquently told by the diminished crops of the cotton states. What the exports have done to the country on the receiving end of the line is shown in "Denmark" (1934). A table there gives the average crops for the whole country, figured by million hektokilos of barley, as 27.1 between 1875 and 1879, with

a jump to 33.5 in the period from 1910 to 1914, and similar increases all the way up to 1930-33 when the yield was 79.9.

These and similar increases were not due to physical causes exclusively, however, but to the Danish farmer's initiation into teamwork. Before 1881 he was an individualist. Each peasant made his own butter and sold it as best he could. The small farmer had to find his own market and battle for his own exclusive interests. But he soon saw the folly of depending on outside agencies for his processing and marketing—agencies which kept the farmers inefficient and mutually hostile.

In 1881 a group of these disillusioned farmers got together and organized a cooperative creamery. They worked out a very simple plan of organization which has been followed ever since. The members bound themselves to deliver all their milk to their own creamery, except such as was needed at home. The liability was unlimited; each was individually responsible for any debts, and the profits were divided in proportion to the amount of milk delivered. The highest authority in a cooperative dairy society is the general meeting of members. Regular meetings are held once or twice a year and special meetings are held when needed. Each member has one vote. The general meeting elects a board of directors which represents the cooperative society. (My father served for several years as a director of a cooperative creamery.) The directors engage the creamery manager, who is always an expert. The expense of collecting the milk is borne by the creamery, so that the most remote farmer may have no economic disadvantage. The collection of milk is let out by routes to the lowest bidder. (I, myself, have hauled milk on a dairy route.) These principles of organization apply to all forms of Danish cooperative enterprises.

Natural Growth of Cooperatives

As these dairies are owned and operated by the farmers themselves they take care to deliver their milk in good condition, and they see to it that their neighbors do the same. The cooperative creamery butter is standardized under government supervision; it is marketed under the trade mark of the lur (lyre) which has become a sign of excellence, and the lur-marked butter commands the highest prices. The skim milk after being pasteurized is returned to the farm where it is fed to the hogs.

Thus the dairy business naturally led to hog raising, which brought about cooperative slaughterhouses. Again there was a tendency toward improving the quality, for the cooperative slaughterhouses paid for the weight of the dressed hog, whereas the private packers paid for the animal on the hoof. Under the new plan the farmer who filled his hogs with swill just before they were weighed cheated nobody but himself. The practical result was that it was profitable to deliver carefully fed hogs to the cooperative slaughterhouse while hogs with more than average shrinkage would bring a slightly higher return when sold to a private concern. Thus the cooperative encouraged a new morality.

The first cooperative slaughterhouse was organized in 1887. In 1932 there were 58 such plants. The turnover for 1932 was 379 million kroner representing 81 per cent of the total of 7,840,999 pigs slaughtered at the bacon factories. There is a slaughterhouse within easy reach of every farmer, so the cost of transportation and marketing is reduced to a minimum. The average cost of these plants is $85,000. They are operated by experts. (My uncle was the manager of one.) They save for the farmer the processing profit of this industry and the cost to the consumer is kept down.

Where American Farmers Lose

I have calculated the spread between the prices paid to the farmers of the United States and the Chicago wholesale prices of dressed beef, veal and lamb as reported in Crops and Markets, a publication of the United States department of agriculture; and the spread between the price paid to the farmers in Denmark and the wholesale prices of the same dressed meats based on newspaper clippings and official quotations sent me from Denmark. Both sets of quotations cover the same period of August 1935 and the same items. I found that if the spread in America was represented by 1.00, that in Denmark was .78. Thus it would appear that the Danes have demonstrated that a packing plant may, and probably should, be a local enterprise.

Some of the cooperative meat packing houses have taken up the sale of eggs as a part of their business, but have organized it as a separate cooperative society with local egg-collecting centers. Otherwise the cooperative movement in this respect is concentrated in the "Danish Cooperative Egg Export Society" which has branches throughout the country. Each branch has a distinctive number, and each member of the branch also has a number. These numbers must be marked on the eggs before they are delivered to the branch egg collector. The farmer is paid the highest prices, but he is fined if he delivers stale eggs. The markings on the eggs make it possible to place responsibility where it belongs. This method insures the English consumer of a quality product.

The Danish farmers have their own selling organizations and are almost as self-contained as the American packing syndicate. The cooperative creameries have federated into eleven butter export societies. The products of the slaughterhouse are sold in England through the Cooperative Danish Bacon Society of London. Through such cooperation the individual farmer, however small, is provided with the best possible facilities for marketing.

Cooperative Buying

Not only do the Danes produce and market cooperatively; they also buy cooperatively. In 1931 there were 1825 consumers' societies, numbering 331,000 members with an annual turnover of 134,700,000 kroner. These societies began in the country, but are now rapidly spreading to the cities.

The Statistical Yearbook (Statistisk Aarbog) 1933,

p. 59, lists the following cooperatives of Denmark for the year 1931:

Types of Cooperative	Number of local Societies	Number of Members	Turnover in Kroner*
Consumers Societies for Home Consumption	1,825	331,000	134,700,000
Creameries	1,388	189,250	540,000,000
Butter Export Societies	11	.....	160,200,000
Slaughterhouses (Packing plants)			
Meat products	59	177,221	399,200,000
Egg Exports			6,200,000
Society for the exportation of eggs	700	45,000	13,100,000
Cattle export societies	15	13,663	7,800,000
Associated seed export	.....	3,413	4,600,000
Total Producer Societies	2,173	.....	1,131,100,000
Feed Purchasing Societies	1,368	82,847	104,000,000
Fertilizer Societies	1,412	57,000	17,800,000
The Danish Creameries Cooperative Society for the purchase and manufacture of machinery		1,720	7,400,000
Cement Factory—(Dansk Andels—Cement fabrik)	870		4,000,000
Coal Purchasing Societies	725		5,500,000
Total Agricultural Import and Manufacturing Societies	4,375		138,700,000
Life Insurance—Property insurance and others	1,074	708,290	9,300,000
Grand Total	9,447		1,413,800,000
Same for the Year 1930	9,397		1,664,200,000

The efficiency of cooperative marketing was convincingly demonstrated to me in 1910, the year I came to America, when I learned that American corn was sold at considerably lower prices in the cooperative stores in Denmark than in the feed stores of New York. By the cooperative method distribution cost is reduced to handling charges.

I have never heard of the failure of a Danish cooperative. New enterprises are usually started on borrowed capital. Each member is individually responsible for the debts of the society. Membership is open to all who can make legitimate use of the organization. Generally there is no initiation charge or other expense in joining. New members benefit by accumulated profits, and experience. Retiring members cease to be owners. Absentees and non-users can have no claim of ownership. The Danes would no more consider trading their cooperative industries than Americans would tolerate the selling of their city parks and public schools.

Real estate loans in Denmark have for years been made through cooperative and semi-public credit societies much in the manner of our Home Owners Loan corporation. When a person needed money he would join the cooperative credit association, whereupon his property was carefully appraised. By placing his mortgage in the common pool the association would issue additional bonds in the amount of the mortgage. These bonds, having great security, have always found ready buyers, and the proceeds (or the bonds) were turned over to the borrower.

In 1906 there was allotted 20 million kroner of public funds for the establishment of the Danish mortgage bank, to discount and to give stability and security to mortgage bonds. This bank oversees and protects cooperative financing as it mobilizes the credit resources of the farmer and utilizes them exclusively for the farmer's needs. The interest rate which the farmers now pay is 4 per cent, being reduced in 1933 from 4½ per cent and 5 per cent. These credit societies are owned and controlled by the farmers in the same manner as are other cooperative enterprises. There is also a strong cooperative commercial bank owned by the cooperative societies.

All the cooperative enterprises of agriculture, and the joint societies for the cooperative units, are members of the Union of the Danish Cooperative Societies, which watches over their interests and publishes a cooperative journal.

No Great Wealth; No Poverty

The economic set-up of Denmark is such that it is practically impossible for anyone to amass great wealth. This is because the bulk of the profits, which go in other countries to the business people, are returned to the producers. As economic power always carries with it political power, we find that the farmers and the laborers are the ruling classes of Denmark. These "common people"—and that includes the vast majority of the Danes—have slowly made up their minds to control the conditions of their living and to make the machinery of life subordinate to the spirit of life; they have slowly learned to do this. A true cooperative society is not gained in a day.

The railroads, the telegraphs and the long distance telephone lines are owned and operated by the state. Transportation is used to aid the farmer in the marketing of his goods. Low passenger fares encourage travel. The state railways are now introducing streamlined trains traveling at high speed. The railways of Denmark are treated as highways in the fullest sense of the term. They are instruments to serve a social purpose, rather than to make gains for a separate class.

Thus the Danes, through their cooperative societies and through their government, have turned the major economic forces of the nation, such as credit, transportation and marketing from agencies of profit into instruments of service. They believe that the user should also be the owner and that no one should have possession of more than he can use. They have passed legislation designed to break up large estates and have encouraged the establishment of small farms. They have made it possible for an industrious farm laborer to borrow for a long term at low interest from the public funds up to ninety per cent of the value of a small farm

*The krone, by the way, when this was written, was quoted as 25.5 cents but its purchasing power in Denmark is considerably greater than that quotation would suggest to an American.

including animals and machinery. Thus, practically anyone can become the owner of a farm. From 1900 to 1932 the state made 15,489 loans totaling 140,464,753 kroner for the establishment of small farms and 10,763 supplemental loans totaling 18,677,657 kroner to farmers who had earlier received state loans. According to the law of October 4, 1919, 31,424.7 hectares of church and public land were converted into 4,479 small farms *(Husmandsbrug)* during the years 1920-1930.* For this purpose the state advanced loans of 51,849,000 kroner and additional loans of 1,283,000 kroner. (Statistical Yearbook, 1933.) As a result of legislation which prohibits the concentration of large agricultural holdings and which encourages individual ownership of small farms, 97 per cent of all farmers own the land they operate. Landlordism is disappearing in Denmark.

The welfare of the land is reflected in the growth in population. In 1890 there were 2,185,335 inhabitants in the kingdom. In 1930 the number had increased to 3,555,656, including 177,696 in North Schleswig which was returned to Denmark by plebiscite following the world war.

Denmark is an exhibit of what a country can be made by wise statesmanship on one hand and by an aggressive assertion of scientific principles and of human rights on the other. Denmark found its leadership in the neglected farmer. The cooperatives have developed a new morality in which the spirit approximates the ideal of "All for each and each for all."

*One hectare equals, roughly, two and a half acres.

BOOKS

The Eternal Gethsemane

MEDITATIONS ON THE CROSS. *By Toyohiko Kagawa. Willett, Clark & Company, $1.50.*

INTRODUCING KAGAWA. *By Helen Topping. Willett, Clark & Company, 15 cents.*

IT WOULD indicate a failure to grasp the spirit and purpose of the first of these books if the reviewer were to speak much about Kagawa and little about the cross. The temptation is always to let the mind linger upon the dynamic and captivating figure of that great Japanese Christian. But in this book the personality of Kagawa is something to look through, not something to look at. In these meditations he is pointing to the cross, and it is much more important to understand the cross than to understand Kagawa. This son of the orient utters searching words regarding the necessary place of the cross in the Christian religion and in any adequate program of social progress.

The phrase, "The Eternal Gethsemane," which serves as the heading for a section, would have been an appropriate title for the book. The first third of the volume is devoted to comment upon the crucifixion of Jesus and interpretation of the records of that event and the references to it in the New Testament; the remainder, to a discussion of the place of sacrifice in human life. Kagawa does not shrink from using the terms of traditional theology with reference to atonement, even substitutionary atonement, though for the most part his language is far from that of conventional orthodoxy and his thought constantly outruns the ancient dogmas. It is as though he found nothing that he cared to deny in even the most conservative statements about the "power of the blood," but was much more interested in going on from where the dogma leaves off or in using it as the foundation upon which to build his teaching of the necessity for a continuance of the practice of sacrifice.

The Roman Catholic expresses his sense of the continuity of atoning sacrifice in terms of the mass, in which the victim, slain once for all, is continually offered in the consecrated bread whose substance is changed into the substance of his body. For Kagawa, the continued sacrifice is found in the sacrificial lives of Christians, who must make their Master's principle of sacrifice unto the utmost the guiding principle of their lives if they are to carry on his work. Gethsemane must be eternal because the law of sacrifice is the law of love. "The power of blood means the power of love." "Divine love was made real through the cross." So human love is made divine and lifted above its natural limitations by taking the cross.

The necessity of sacrifice, says Kagawa, is twofold. First, it is a law of human nature that for the individual there is no rising to higher levels without sacrifice. Second, because of the fact of social solidarity, when one suffers all suffer; and therefore society cannot be saved, cannot even be made safe for the more fortunate, unless there is sacrificial effort on behalf of the less fortunate. If we do not willingly suffer *for* each other because of love, then we must suffer *with* each other because we are bound together in society.

When he attempts to explain the nature of the soul by reference to what he supposes to be the discoveries of modern physics about the atoms, Kagawa wanders in a maze of unfamiliar concepts and unconvincing analogies. When he tries to be scientific about immortality, he is lost. But when he turns to the field he knows so well—the field of human need and the ways of ministering to that need by the practice of a Christlike selflessness—he not only finds himself but becomes the leader of a church which has come dangerously near to being lost.

One hesitates to criticize the interpretations of one so competent as Miss Helen Topping, who translated part of this book and wrote the foreword, but her reference, in the foreword, to Jesus as "a typical proletarian," and to the fourth gospel as "of importance as class literature for oppressed proletarians," and to Kagawa's work in "freeing Christianity from the enslavement it has suffered to bourgeois materialism, partly by reinterpreting its own records, obscured under the minutiae of bourgeois theologians of the last two centuries who spent their lives in their capitalist-supported libraries and therefore did not understand their Bibles"—all this suggests a class consciousness which seems to be equally remote from the spirit of Jesus and of Kagawa.

The analysis of society into bourgeoisie and proletariat does not seem to me to be a very helpful one for the purpose for which it is here introduced. Further, Kagawa reminds us that there were both "leftists" and "rightists" among the immediate followers of Jesus, and that he refused to be classed with either group. Kagawa clings to the analogy of the blood and its saving power, whether shed for men or circulating in the veins. On almost his last page, after stating his opposition to capitalism, he says: "It does not do to take an attitude of pure op-

position, or to feel that we do not want capitalists in our churches. . . . What if the blood were to take part in a class war? If the blood were to say, 'I don't want to go to that detestable old head. I'll go only to the feet,' the body would die. The blood must go anywhere, everywhere, without distinction. So with love. Unless it penetrates to every part of society, the nation cannot endure it."

Miss Topping's pamphlet, "Introducing Kagawa," tells the amazing and inspiring story of this man's life, from his early days in the slums of Kobe, through the years of his work in the organization of Japanese labor and in carrying on his wonderfully successful evangelistic enterprise, his winning the confidence of the government and an enormous popular following for his writings, and his activity in the cooperative movement which is the occasion for his present visit to America. Those who expect to see and hear him, and all who want to understand his unique contribution to present day Christianity, should read at least this brief life. Better still, read both of the books here mentioned. They are the quintessence of Kagawa.

W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

CREATIVE MANAGEMENT. *By Ordway Tead. Association Press, 50 cents.*

If this pamphlet had the usual proportion of words to ideas, it might easily have been a book. It has to do with the administration of social agencies and institutions. The guiding principle is that administrative policies must be expressive of the aims of the agency, and what may be called the central thesis is that only democratic organization and administration can successfully promote democratic ends.

SOME PREACHERS DO! *By Bertie Cole Bays. Judson Press, Kansas City.*

A preacher's wife, addressing her spouse in whimsical vein, tells him some of the things that wives seldom, and friends never, dare tell preachers. Preachers who read it will at once realize that its caustic criticisms exactly fit some other preacher they know.

A VISIT TO AMERICA. *By A. G. Macdonell. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

Wisdom and humor have met together and genial persiflage and truth have kissed each other in this record of American sights and insights by the Scotsman who, two years ago, commented so vividly and entertainingly on "England, Their England" that the book got a prize as the best English novel of the year though it was as Scotch as heather and not really a novel at all. Americans who want to see their country through unaccustomed eyes cannot do better than borrow Mr. Macdonell's. He saw only the surface, and he was the victim of so much hospitality that he had little time for sociological research or political inquiry between cocktail parties, but even this surfeit of alcoholic entertainment did not cloud his perceptions or confuse his style.

SPRING CAME ON FOREVER. *By Bess Streeter Aldrich. D. Appleton-Century Company, $2.00.*

Coincidence stretches a long arm across half a century to provide Mrs. Aldrich with a plot. It is a swift-moving half century in which America leaps from pioneer farming and young industrialism to the modern over-ripe capitalism. Against this broad sweep of time our characters are born, work and die, while our heroine alone lives on, uniting events, relations and plot. The story alternates between city and farm. Amalia Holmsdorfer, torn from the man she loves by an overbearing father, is forced to marry her father's choice and dutifully maintain a home in a pioneer German farm colony in Nebraska. Matthias, the man she loved, moves also to Nebraska but prefers to grow up with the city. In both, the dream of the old love lives on in an eternal youth of its own, until at last it is realized when Amalia's great-grandson marries the granddaughter of Matthias and both come to live on the farm to reenact old days by pioneering through the depression. As in her previous works, Mrs. Aldrich has here written a careful, well-constructed novel. The life and character of the lovable Amalia is excellently portrayed, although that of Matthias is more sketchy and somewhat less convincing. An agreeable, easy-to-read novel, excellent despite its slight emphasis on the somewhat worn theme of sublimation of the pioneer spirit.

ALBERT OF BELGIUM, DEFENDER OF RIGHT. *By Emile Cammaerts. The Macmillan Company, $5.00.*

A great part of this life of the late King Albert necessarily deals with the war, the German invasion of Belgium, and the treatment of Belgium in the post-war settlement—which the author thinks was not very generous, in view of all that the grateful allies had said while the struggle was going on. The section dealing with the reconstruction of Belgium during the fifteen years after the war contains more material not generally known. The most interesting part is that which describes Albert himself, the man and the king. With him, kingship was a trade—more than that, a vocation—and he worked at it as diligently and conscientiously as any good citizen works at his appointed task. The late king of the Belgians was an honor to a once noble profession.

A COMMUNICATION

Kagawa in America

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Toyohiko Kagawa, by the time these words are published, will be in the United States for a much heralded tour of speaking and conferences. It may be well to consider with as much judgment and as little sentiment as possible just what his visit may, should, and is likely to mean to Americans, to him, and to Japan. This glimpse at the engagements he has made and the importance he attaches to them may be revealing.

Among his first dates are several denominational youth conferences and the quadrennial Student Volunteer convention in Indianapolis. Twice Kagawa moved up his sailing date to make possible his presence at these conferences. It would seem that he particularly welcomes the opportunity to speak to American youth at the present juncture of world events.

Kagawa's decision to make this trip to America was made more than a year ago when he was invited to deliver the Rauschenbusch foundation lectures at Rochester Divinity school in the early spring of 1936. He was highly gratified with this opportunity, as he expresses it, to repay in some measure the debt he owes in his thinking to Walter Rauschenbusch, the pioneer of America's social gospel movement.

From the Federal council of churches in America also came an invitation which he accepted to meet with the leaders of the nation's religious and moral life and to study with them in the light of conditions and needs of the present day in America the implications of the Christian religion in economic life and relationships.

For several years the many cooperative societies scattered over the United States have been urging Kagawa to make an American trip for the especial purpose of meeting and counseling with the leaders of that movement. When therefore a letter came from the general secretary of the Cooperative League in America asking Kagawa to include in his itinerary certain official conferences with cooperative leaders in and around Kansas City, Minneapolis, Chicago and elsewhere, he gladly consented to do so.

To be sure, Dr. Kagawa will make many other addresses and

be present at many other conferences, but as this writer has observed the plan of his 1935 trip developing in the prophet's mind, these contacts with American life have seemed clearly the points about which Kagawa is planning his strategy: students and youth, leadership training centers, Christian churches, cooperatives. Should anyone ask with which of these in particular he identifies the Kingdom of God movement which is indelibly associated with his name, the answer might be: With no one of them, but with all.

Perhaps a more intimate glimpse of Kagawa's strategy may be seen in his recent announcement that it is his hope in going to America to help cooperatize the churches and Christianize the cooperatives. This has become a clearer conviction of duty with him as it has become ever more obvious that in America as in Japan there is a growing tendency to divorce the socializing forces of economic transformation from what to some seem the more sacred activities of religious piety.

It must be providential that Kagawa is visiting the United States just now rather than two or three years ago. Then the question he would undoubtedly have had to answer before gaining rapport with any audience would have been, "Why aren't you a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation?" or "Why don't you lead an anti-militarist movement in Japan?" Today Americans will be far more able to understand that, while Kagawa stands absolutely opposed in principle to what Japan has been doing for four years and longer in China, he is no less opposed to what Italy is doing today in Ethiopia. And was not Italy one of Japan's righteously indignant accusers of yesteryear? And isn't it clear to any unclouded mind that the British or American government as at present constituted—whether of laborites, liberals or conservatives—may in turn be counted upon to provide the next act of the world's drama of imperialism?

Toyohiko Kagawa stands squarely with E. Stanley Jones in recognizing that the forces of human progress are deadlocked in a struggle between the internationally destructive feature of capitalism and the interclass strife of communism. But unlike Dr. Jones, Dr. Kagawa has a concrete program not only for avoiding these shoals of human conflict but for creating that harmony of spiritual and material interests which seem implicit in Jesus' vision of the kingdom of God.

Let there be no mistake: Kagawa is a radical in the real sense of that word, as one who approaches problems from fundamentals of human existence. He believes firmly in God—he is a spiritual man and a mystic—but his religion is one of both perpendicular and horizontal reference. He has no use for a religion that concerns itself and its adherents exclusively with an individual contact with the divine, nor for a social institution which seeks to exist for selfish or mutual benefit purely on human power. Herein lie his reasons for ascribing divine sanction to the cooperative principle in economics as much as in other social relationships.

Religious bodies identified with a different economic or political philosophy do not entirely welcome Kagawa's doctrine or practice. They do, however, recognize and appreciate his ability to draw large crowds of common, straight-thinking people whom the churches themselves do not reach; hence the frequency with which he appears as a special evangelistic speaker in Japanese churches, his appeal being followed by strenuous efforts to get his "deciders" into these churches that have little or no interest in the social and economic aspects of Kagawa's gospel.

Over against this alignment of the churches' concern chiefly with individuals, however, stands the cooperative movement which Kagawa believes to be an essentially sound and peaceful means of economic revolution if guided by men of normal integrity, yet whose leaders are losing faith and interest in organized religion as a socially dynamic force. This is a tragedy not only for the churches, but for the cooperative movement itself, Kagawa believes, for without spiritual vision such as the church engenders the people perish, and even the cooperative program becomes corrupt. The flourishing secular cooperative movement in Japan does not thoroughly appreciate Kagawa's continual harping on this point, and some of the social institutions he has sponsored in times past, notably the labor unions, have moved definitely toward the materialistic position of communism. The cooperatives, however, still prize Kagawa's leadership, for his name and constant inspiration mean much.

Nevertheless, for these reasons, it has thus far been impossible for Kagawa to get the church people and the cooperative groups together, though his efforts are always exerted in this direction. Boldly he announces that the church needs the cooperative movement to save itself from selfishness, and that cooperatives can only succeed with Christian men in positions of public confidence and trust.

It is here that the American trip, his recent Australian tour, and before that his Philippine sojourn come into strategic perspective. Kagawa is a genuine internationalist; he sees that all true movements for social reformation must be interdependent. He therefore turns to other lands for all possible help and information in both spiritual and economic affairs, and at the same time he is anxious in any possible way to promote this "double-aspect" religious movement abroad if perchance it may catch fire there and thus react powerfully upon the situation in his own beloved homeland.

For Kagawa is mightily concerned about Japan today. He sees all too well the inevitable results of a capitalist and imperialist advance from Japan meeting a communist advance from Russia on the plains of Manchuria and north China. The situation is rendered the more sinister in that the military imperialists in Japan have apparently made a bargain to give Japanese capitalists full support in north China in exchange for a continued free hand in the military control of Manchukuo, and the end must eventually be the ruin of both China and Japan.

Tokyo, Japan. T. T. BRUMBAUGH.

The Question Box

Please explain what is meant by the "Textus Receptus." F. H. F., Cleveland Heights, O.

IT IS the term employed to designate the accepted or received text of any classic document. The task of scholarship is always to determine, with such apparatus as is available, the original text of works that have come down from the past, and of which autograph copies are unknown. More particularly the term is used in reference to the text of the Bible.

Regarding the Old Testament, the Textus Receptus is the Masoretic text, the one traditionally regarded as nearest correct by the Hebrew scholars who worked at the task of editing and publishing the text of the Old Testament books for the use of the synagogues. This consisted of the pointing of the text of the Old Testament books in accordance with the tradition of the Jewish schools, as well as the decisions regarding the best readings in questionable passages. The date of the Masora is conjecturally given as anywhere in the pre-Christian period, running back as far as the time of Ezra. But the written form did not appear until the fifth to the eighth century, A.D.

The Textus Receptus of the New Testament is the accepted form of the printed text of the Greek New Testament. It begins with the first New Testament of Erasmus in 1516 and the Complutensian Polyglot prepared by Cardinal Ximenes, of the complete Greek Bible in 1522, and ends with the first Elzevir edition of 1624. Thus resulted the establishment of the "Received Text," so called, the Textus Receptus, which for two centuries and a half was the universally accepted form of the Greek Scriptures. The term occurs first in the second Elzevir edition of 1633. The standard forms of the Textus Receptus are the third edition of Stephanus (R. Estienne) in 1550, and the Elzevir of 1624.

For English readers the term represents the formation of the English Bible, from Tyndale's New Testament of 1525 to the Authorized Version of 1611. This period and its textual products represents the Textus Receptus in English.

It will be understood of course that the work of critical examination and reconstruction of the biblical text goes on continually as the material for comparison of manscripts increases. Fresh discoveries yield results which assist in the securing of a more reliable form of the biblical documents.

H. L. W.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Gotham Debates Birth Control

Attack by Cardinal Hayes Brings Reply from Advocates—Apartment Houses Baffle Pastoral Efforts

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Dec. 14.—Birth control is decidedly in the headlines this week. Last Sunday Cardinal Hayes, the Catholic archbishop of New York, lashed out against the propaganda now being carried on by birth control advocates. This sermon was inspired by the recent birth control meeting in Carnegie hall at which various Protestant and Jewish leaders spoke in behalf of this cause. The cardinal was particularly incensed because so much had been made of the fact that families on relief were having so many children. "Who are these people," he said, "that sit in soft garments and offer affront to the poor?" This sermon has evoked a spirited reply from a group of clergymen led by Dr. Minot Simons and Dr. Sidney Goldstein which reads in part:

"No one questions that it is the duty of the cardinal to remind the communicants of the Catholic church of its teachings on the subject of the limitation of the family and to urge Catholic men and women to live in accordance with the principles of their faith. We must, however, in the same measured, deliberate and emphatic terms employed by the cardinal, protest against any word or act of the dignitaries of the church that would in effect impose on other Americans the beliefs and practices of Catholicism. The program advocated by the American birth control league and the National committee on federal legislation for birth control is not mandatory but permissive. It does not compel any man or woman to act contrary to his conscience or his church. It leaves each one free to practice the principles that he believes to be wise and right. This is what is meant by democracy. For any one religious group to attempt to exercise authority over other groups, whether that authority be legal, social or ethical, is undemocratic and out of place in America."

* * *

Charity and the Income Tax

The National committee for religion and welfare recovery issued a most interesting statement yesterday on the subject of giving and taxation. This statement is in the nature of an appeal to givers to take advantage of the 15 per cent tax exemption allowed by the federal government for gifts to churches and other charitable institutions. The committee points out that almost two billion dollars could have been turned over to such institutions last year had advantage been taken of this part of the tax law. It illustrates this by showing that an individual with an income of $1,000 who makes a 15 per cent gift to charity saves $10 on his income taxes, thus making the cost of his $150 only $140. And the man with the million dollar income making a similar gift saves $105,000 on his income taxes thus making the cost of his $150,000 gift only $45,000.

* * *

"The Curse of the Apartment House"

Among the unusual subjects for tomorrow's sermons I note the above. The preacher choosing this theme is Dr. Edmund Melville Wylie of the Park Avenue Presbyterian church. While I have no definite clue as to his approach to this question I do know that the apartment house is offering almost insurmountable difficulties for some of our churches. The minister who would call to find new people is effectively blocked by the doormen and attendants. One cannot get in without specific authorizations from the family he wishes to see. The old days of going out and making an apartment to apartment canvass seem gone forever.

* * *

Fifty Years in New York Presbytery

The office of the New York presbytery has just made public some interesting statistics on Presbyterianism in this city. In the year 1885 there were 41 churches; in 1935 there are 61. In 1885 there were 127 ministers; today there are 187. The membership of the churches was 19,969 in 1885; today it is 33,837. However, 50 years ago the Sunday school children numbered 21,050 while today there are only 14,424. The gifts to church support have increased from $442,025 to $877,664 but the gifts to the boards of the church have dropped from $237,799 to $164,868. The per capita gifts for church support have increased from $22.13 to $25.94 but the per capita gifts to the mission boards have dropped from $11.91 to $4.86.

* * *

New Pastor for Central Church

The members of the Central Presbyterian church are looking forward eagerly to the coming of their new pastor, Rev. Theodore C. Speers of Utica, N. Y. He will assume his new duties early in the new year. This is one of the strong churches of the presbytery and it is good to know that it is to have leadership of the kind Mr. Speers will provide.

* * *

Hearst Texts

In last week's issue of the Nation, nationally known liberal weekly, Heywood Broun writes a letter to a clergyman who has supplied a Bible text for a Hearst paper. This letter is caustic but searching and ought to make all of us question the wisdom of supplying such texts for this press. EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

Philadelphia's First Interracial Church

More than 1,200 white and colored people now worship at the First Baptist church, Philadelphia. This first interracial fellowship church in that city was organized under the joint cooperation of the Philadelphia federation of churches and the Society of Friends.

Editor's Murder Rouses State

Minneapolis Offers Reward for Killers of Crusader Liggett—Drunken Drivers a Growing Problem

(Correspondence from Minnesota)

VIRGINIA, MINN., Dec. 14.—Minneapolis is stirred to its depths by the murder of a crusading editor, Walter Liggett, who was shot to death by gunmen at the rear of his home a few days since. Just 10 months ago, Howard Guilford, another "crusader," was killed under similar circumstances. His assassin has never been found. Both Guilford and Liggett edited "free lance" newspapers, and handled without gloves political irregularity, vice and gambling. Many citizens have felt that these newspapers were a liability rather than an asset to the community, but it is a fact that the revelations of these papers earned for the editors the most bitter enmity of the underworld and also of many officials. The city council of Minneapolis has voted $2,500 in rewards for the murderers of Guilford and Liggett, while the state legislature now in session has ordered an investigation into vice conditions in the city.

* * *

Emphasize Evangelistic Program

Under the direction of the denominational committee on evangelism, five of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church conducted a one-day conference on evangelism in Minneapolis last week, this being one of a series of conferences held in the various area centers of the United States. Ministers and laymen from all parts of the St. Paul area, which comprises Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, were in attendance. The bishops present at the Minneapolis meeting were H. Lester Smith of Cincinnati, Frederick D. Leete of Omaha, Charles L. Mead of Kansas City, Ralph S. Cushman of Denver, and J. Ralph Magee of St. Paul. The conference did not deal specifically with evangelistic methods, but it did urge the necessity of developing an evangelistic program in every church.

* * *

Drivers' Licenses Revoked

The director of the Minnesota state drivers license bureau, Mr. Gil Carmichael, is becoming aroused to the menace of drunken driving, and has made an appeal to the legislature to do something about it. In 11 months of the present year, 833 licenses have been revoked in Minnesota and 787 of them are laid to drunken driving. Mr. Carmichael is particularly concerned about the 67 minors whose licenses have been canceled because of driving while under the influence of liquor. Among youths, 21 to 25, 108 licenses have been revoked. It has been discovered, contrary to the predictions of repealists,

that ease in securing liquor has resulted in an increased use of it, and not in a decreased demand. The director has undoubtedly put his finger on one of the principal causes of the many auto accidents on the highways. One wonders how many of these people whose licenses have been canceled have actually stopped driving, or if many of them are not running the risk of driving without a license.

* * *

Launch New Plan for Adult Education

Minnesota's original contribution to adult education—an idea that will be known as "the Minnesota plan" in years to come—will take form soon when ground is broken on the campus of the state university for the new adult education building. Following an unusual idea, developed by President Lotus D. Coffman, the building will give adult groups a place of their own in which to work, live and study, for what is said to be the first time in the history of American education. The building will be used exclusively by adults who desire to return to the university for "refresher" work. Containing living quarters, dining room, a 200-car garage, auditorium, offices and seminar rooms, the adult education building will be a self-contained unit and will be operated on a paying basis. The new unit is to be used by groups rather than by individuals. Groups of attorneys, doctors, ministers and other professionals will be invited to come to the university to live and study together for a number of days or a number of weeks as their needs may demand.

* * *

Laymen Study Church Management

Dr. Bert E. Smith, superintendent of the Minneapolis district of the Methodist church, has developed what he calls a school of church management for laymen. The churches of the city are divided into a number of sections in each of which three sessions of the school are held. The schools are held in different churches of the district, and also they are held on different nights. This has enabled Bishop J. Ralph Magee to conduct each school; and also it has made it possible to have three speakers cover all the sessions. Dr. Charles N. Pace of Hamline university was the principal speaker the first week, Dr. James W. Workman, a district superintendent of the Methodist church, south, the second week, and E. Dow Bancroft, prominent layman of the Methodist church, the third week. Dr. E. C. Hickman, superintendent of the Winona district of the Methodist church, is following a somewhat similar plan in his district, which he calls a seminar on church problems.

EDWARD W. STODGHILL.

Methodist Federation for Social Service

The midwest regional conference of the Methodist federation for social service will be held at the Y.M.C.A. building in Evanston, Ill., Jan. 14-16, 1936. The primary aim of this conference is to bring together for planning and action those Methodists (ministers and laymen) who realize that the capitalist order should be replaced by a new order in accord with the spirit and teachings of Jesus. A number of leaders, including the national secretary, Harry F. Ward, will lead the discussions.

Mussolini Held Sure of Defeat

Correspondent, After Visit to Ethiopia, Sees No Hope for Italian Victory —But All Europe Will Pay

(Correspondence from Central Europe)

VIENNA, Nov. 29.—Nothing comes to people so easily and sits so comfortably as prejudices. By means of them we see the world as we wish to. They relieve us from understanding things we don't want to understand. They keep out the things that would make us puzzled or uncomfortable. Formulas and fanaticism are essential, but they distort one's world. The dislike of most Anglo-Saxons for fascism has made it difficult for them to understand modern Italy. Mussolini is a blusterer. He submerges himself in unpleasant "ballyhoo." And he has imposed upon his country a formidable-appearing economic and political system, all covered with castor oil and badges.

But anyone capable of fair judgment and sympathetic feeling must acknowledge that Italy has undergone a great improvement and that the Italians are for the most part delightful people. They are dramatic, artistic, emotional, but still very capable. They are exceedingly friendly, wonderfully hospitable, have an abounding family love, and delight in comradeship. They are very good agriculturists, excellent technicians and gifted artists.

* * *

A New Nation Feels Its Strength

As a nation the Italians are new. As a race they are very old, of course, but for centuries they were not organized nor united. That is a recent achievement. The English, French, Russians, even the Germans, beat them to it. The Italians are just now coming to feel their strength as a state. They are the third largest nation in Europe. First Russia, then Germany, and after that Italy. Furthermore, they are growing rapidly in number. They are virile and energetic.

But they are confined in a narrow and rather poor, though beautiful, land, and occupy a humble position among the peoples. For centuries they have not been a decisive factor. Italy has certainly been the weakest of the great powers. Now, under Mussolini she is coming to the fore—or at least imagines she is. And naturally, she wants all that the other great powers have. Prestige on the continent and colonies outside of it. Such small powers as Belgium, Holland, Portugal and Spain have colonies. The great powers have colonies. Japan is helping itself. Then why shouldn't Italy take something?

* * *

Mussolini Doomed To Defeat

Italy justifies its colonial campaign with exactly the same arguments once used by England, Portugal, Spain and Belgium. It is "the white man's burden." And certainly Ethiopia needs saving as much as the Congo, Borneo or the Sudan. In reality, however, this saving would be just another brazen piece of conquest—no more and no less.

But Mussolini will fail and Italy will be humiliated. The Italians cannot take Abyssinia. They are doomed to defeat. Their position on the continent is bad. Economically, they are very weak. The other great powers are against them. Ethiopia is very far away. The Italian army there is small. The armies of its enemies are large.

There are terrible deserts, impenetrable passes and mountains that cannot be occupied. In many places there is no water, nowhere is there food to be captured. Everywhere the communications are extremely difficult. And before long, torrential rains will fall, making life in tents unpleasant and dangerous, and military activity impossible. However far Mussolini advances, he will meet only disaster in the end. For him this will be a catastrophe.

* * *

Consequences of Coming Collapse of Fascism

Then what? The collapse of fascism! After that we democrats and socialists may exult. But over what? Italy will be disorganized, impoverished, embittered and paralyzed. Austria will be isolated. Germany will dominate central Europe. And the continent's real troubles will be just beginning. Europe's equilibrium will be destroyed and dangerous times will come. The league and deserts and rains and the British fleet will crush the adventurer, Mussolini, and make his people pay the costs. But the rest of us, also, will pay a terribly high price.

For the rapacity of Italy and of the other powers before her, who have seized other people's lands, we shall then settle the bill.

R. H. MARKHAM.

[This is the second of three special dispatches from Mr. Markham, who has just returned from Ethiopia.]

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Britain Mourns King's Sister

Princess Victoria Led Secluded Life—Munitions Inquiry Continues Study of Airplane Exports

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Dec. 3.—The king's sister, the Princess Victoria, died today. She was three years younger than the king. For some time she had been ill and her death cannot have come as a surprise. It is known to all of us how strong is the bond of affection in the royal family, and there will be everywhere that personal feeling of sympathy for the king and queen which they value most. The princess was not well known to the public in recent years, but she leaves the memory of one who was ready to show the spirit of service, freely given, which has been the mark of the royal house. It is remembered how devoted the dead princess was to her mother, Queen Alexandria.

* * *

Opening of the New Parliament

The leader of labor in the house is to be Major Attlee. The other possible choices were Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Morrison. But the party has decided not to make any change. Mr. Morrison has been speaking faithful words to his party; now that the election is over, he is free to point out, with truth, that Sir Stafford Cripps and others who laid stress on the revolutionary measures necessary for the establishment of a socialistic order had damaged the prospect of the labor party. Mr. Morrison desires that party to set its own house in order and to give to the public a more practical and comprehensive policy.

Sir Archibald Sinclair is to lead the liberals in the absence of Sir Herbert Samuel; at the meeting of liberals Mr. Lloyd George came back to the party. He has gone now for a well-earned holiday to Tangier.

One of the chief questions before the cabinet will be the coordination of the three defense services. They may appoint a civilian who will be exempt from political activities and free to devote his undivided attention to this task. But we do not know yet whether this new office will fall to a civilian outside parliament or to a cabinet minister.

* * *

In Honor of Mark Twain

There can be no question that Mark Twain lives still in our memory and affection. The poet laureate has written of him as a man eminent for goodness and wisdom as well as for those gifts which delight the reader. He has made the happy suggestion that we should keep his memory green by placing on or near the Thames some bust or medallion of him. Mark will always be remembered along with the pilots of the Mississippi about whom he loved to write, and by a river his memorial might fitly stand.

Many have told their recollections of his visits to this country. They have rightly dwelt upon the place which Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn have in our hearts and they have told again the magnificent story of that fight for honor which has its parallel in the life of Sir Walter Scott. They have not left unreported the gloom which rested at the last upon this bright spirit. One writer in the Times tells of the last time in which he heard him: "With the mention of his dead loved ones a note of pathos thrilled in the quiet speech and another note struck was that of world weariness. 'But I stand here, chaffing, chaffing, and chaffing,' said the white-haired old gentleman, and his voice grew lower and lower." Others who have been men of infinite humor have been like that.

* * *

The Export Of Arms

At the meeting of the royal commission on the private manufacture of and trading in arms held last week the license system under which arms may be exported was examined. The present system has been in force since 1921. There are 20 classes of material the export of which is prohibited except under license. Aircraft which have no armament do not require a specific license unless the destination is Abyssinia. The number of licenses refused is small, but this is due to the fact that the manufacturers do not apply where they know they will not be granted. The government has powers to prohibit the exportation of any arms.

The representative of the war office, when he was asked if encouragement of the private arms trade was beneficial to the services, replied that he did not think they would encourage it. "The point," he added, "is that they do not discourage it. They have to consider their relative position with regard to foreign powers. The arms trade is an element in the national security." The representatives of the departments did not believe that there was much smuggling done, nor did they hold that a commercial airplane, not subject to license, could be in a short time transformed into a fighting plane. Little that was fresh or startling was said, but the commission is slowly gathering an immense wealth of material in documents prepared for their use.

* * *

And So Forth

Lord Cecil uses very strong words upon the policy of France in supporting the league and at the same time giving assurances to Italy which will make the action of the league ineffective.

Dr. Temple announces that he will be keeping Christmas outside his diocese. He is to attend in America, as my readers know, the jubilee convention of the Student Volunteer missionary union. The bishops of Whitby and of Hull are his colleagues and to them authority will be given to deal with diocesan matters during the archbishop's absence.

The post office is one of our progressive institutions. It is reaping the rewards of the vigorous rule of Sir Kingsley Wood. The total value of the post office transactions in the year ending March 31, 1935, was 860 millions, an increase of 37 millions. Letters, etc., showed an increase of 200 millions in a total of 6,900 millions. There were 162,000 more telephones. Advertising and improved methods have made a difference.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Depressed Hindus Vote Secession

Dr. Ambedkar Leads Movement for Mass Withdrawal—Discover Relics Thought to Come from the Buddha

(Correspondence from India)

NAGPUR, Nov. 25.—About a month ago Dr. Ambedkar, a leader of the depressed classes in the Bombay presidency, declared before a gathering of 20,000 of his community that the Hindu religion was not good for them and that they had decided to leave it. "Inequality," he said, "is the very basis of that religion and its ethics are such that the depressed classes can never acquire their full manhood." Dr. Ambedkar received the best available education in India and England and is now president of the government law college in Bombay. Belonging to a depressed class family, he owes his education in Indian and British universities to the large-hearted generosity of the maharajah of Baroda. By virtue of his educational attainments and the position he occupies, the depressed class Hindus, at any rate of western India, look upon him as their outstanding leader. Under his leadership the gathering of 20,000 depressed class Hindus adopted a resolution in favor of giving up Hinduism.

* * *

Moslems and Sikhs Woo Depressed Hindus

News of this action has stirred Hindu leaders throughout the country as never before. Some leaders of the depressed class Hindus in other parts of India support Dr. Ambedkar, but other leaders are not at all in favor of rejecting Hinduism. Hindu leaders of the higher castes are pleading with Dr. Ambedkar to be patient and promising to do all they can to remove the disabilities under which depressed class Hindus suffer in Hinduism. As soon as the resolution in favor of giving up Hinduism was adopted, Dr. Ambedkar was approached by Moslem and Sikh leaders offering the hospitality of their respective religions to him and his followers and promising equality in social and other matters. To the credit of the Christian church in India, no such approach has been officially made by any Christian body. But there are some foreign missionaries obsessed by the idea of "mass conversions" who have been taking their share in this unseemly scramble with Moslems and Sikhs for these depressed classes.

In spite of these tempting offers they have been receiving from rival religions, Dr. Ambedkar and his followers have, so far, given no indication as to the religion they are going to adopt. It may be that they are not thinking of embracing any of these three religions but trying to organize themselves into a new reformed sect of Hinduism which may soon assume the status of a distinct religion.

* * *

Present Buddhist Relics To Mahabodhi Society

About 400 Buddhist pilgrims from Japan, China, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Burma, Ceylon and Siam were present at Sarnath near Benares last week when the

head of the government of India department of archaeology presented some ancient Buddhist relics, excavated recently, to the Buddhist organization known as the Mahabodhi society. The story of the discovery of these relics is extremely interesting. The excavation of a Buddhist site known as Kahujodaro in Sind brought to light the remains of a stupa with a brick basement. Digging down to about 25 feet below the summit of the mound a brick-built relic chamber was discovered. Within this were two circular stones about a foot across, placed one upon the other forming a coffer. Within this cavity was a small crystal bottle, while around it and on top of the stone coffer were sprinkled a number of offerings consisting of crystal, coral and gold beads, small seed pearls, copper coins and other objects. The bottle contained a small cylindrical case of silver with a slip-on lid wrapped round with gold leaf which was as fresh and bright as the day it was put on. Inside the silver case was a tiny case of gold containing a very minute substance about the size of a pinhead with some dust. Underneath the two metal cases but within the crystal bottle was found a small spoonful of brown funeral ashes, some lumps of which had the texture and surface of charred bone.

There is evidence to show that the great Buddist emperor Asoka (B.C. 274-232) was responsible for the construction of the stupa and that the relic in all probability was a body relic of the Buddha himself. The funeral ashes are probably those of Upagupta, the famous religious preceptor who was instrumental in spreading Buddhism among the people of Sind.

* * *

Japanese Poet Lecturing in Indian Universities

On the invitation of the interuniversity board of India, Prof. Yone Noguchi, one of the foremost cultural ambassadors of modern Japan, arrived in Calcutta on Nov. 12 for a lecture tour in Indian universities. Prof. Noguchi lectured on Japanese poetry at Magdalen college, Oxford, in 1913. After a stay of three weeks in Calcutta delivering lectures before Calcutta university he will proceed to north India, south India and Ceylon.

* * *

And So Forth

The Parsees are supposed to be the most educated and progressive community in India. Yet when two Parsee girls were featured in a Bombay talkie picture, the Parsee community of Bombay felt that the honor and good name of their womenfolk were outraged. When the picture was presented in one of the Bombay picture houses there was a disturbance of peace organized by Parsees and the police had to be called.

Pandit Malaviya is a great Hindu leader prominent in public life. He is the founder of the Hindu university of Benares and its vice-chancellor. He is learned in the ancient lore of Hinduism. Last week when presiding over the all-India Astronomers' conference at Indore he declared that he believed in Indian astrology and gave instances where forecasts about him made by astrologers had proved correct.

Mrs. Margaret Sanger of the United States, president of the birth control international center, is expected in India soon. She is attending the all-India women's conference which is meeting in Trivandrum

P. Ooman Philip.

Dr. Mott Speaks At Indianapolis

Says World Situation Makes Time Ripe for Youth Volunteer Convention—President at Notre Dame

(Correspondence from Indiana)

Indianapolis, Dec. 10.—Yesterday Dr. John R. Mott addressed the Indianapolis ministers. He stressed the need for new leaders, "additional recruits," for the Christian enterprise. The qualifications for these leaders are vision, personality, heroism, a sense of divine mission and a preparation beyond that of the leader of the past. He also outlined how these leaders may be recruited. Recruits are won by dynamic personalities, dynamic meetings, high literature, personal contacts and a high objective message directed simply and clearly to people.

* * *

Dr. Mott Finds World Plastic

Later, at a luncheon sponsored by Walter Marmon, local honorary chairman of the Student Volunteer convention, to be held here from Dec. 28 to Jan. 1, Dr. Mott spoke of the elements to be found in our generation around the world. They are a spirit of inquiry, plasticity in that the normal *mores* of life are weak, a desire to discuss and read about life's realities, a spirit of frank criticism. It is also an age of danger. Our younger generation is largely without guiding principles and strong social codes, western civilization has invaded the less-organized peoples of the world to their harm and to the lessening of the prestige of white peoples, anti-religious movements have let loose a destructive religious influence. There is needed a positive world-plan, a relevant social program, a dynamic leadership, a youth-plan, a missionary enthusiasm and a passion oblivious to death. Dr. Mott also called attention to the increase in armaments due to "fear and cupidity," interracial hot-spots and the general dissatisfaction with the Versailles treaty. Another danger is the misunderstanding which such terms as "economic imperialism," "commercial exploitation," etc., typical third international terms, are producing in the world. Yet this is a day of visitation, both in judgment and mercy. And Christ's claims are not invalidated. In the light of these things, the Student Volunteer convention is propitious at this time. The doors of the world are open now to a friendly ministry.

* * *

Notre Dame Gives Degree To President Roosevelt

The University of Notre Dame, at South Bend, conferred upon President Roosevelt and Carlo Romulo, delegate from the Philippine islands, the honorary doctor of laws degree. It was a festive occasion which about 10,000 witnessed. Cardinal Mundelein, of Chicago, paid high tribute to the courage of the President, spoke of their mutual friendship, admitted that the President could well defend his own political policies with ability, expressed his own concern for the poor and the need of a more equalized distribution of wealth and strongly declared that no one man can speak for the Catholic church—which many have interpreted as a thrust at Father Coughlin. The occasion was also a celebration of the independence of the Philippines, a Catholic country, whose Mr. Romulo is a rather recent convert to Catholicism. The Philippines, said Mr. Romulo, have no Catholic state religion, but Catholicism is the religion of the people.

* * *

Townsend Pension Plan Following Grows

A group of 3,500 people met recently here in Tomlinson hall, to hear a Townsend plan speaker. The speaker, Mr. Trefz, said that Mr. Roosevelt was interested in the plan, and in "seeing it adopted as law before his party meets in convention to name the candidate in 1936." He told of plans for a lobby in Washington, "the most efficient, scientific and aggressive body that congress has ever seen." At this meeting oaths were administered to members of various clubs in this country, who agreed "to make the plan the law of the land and a part of the constitution." These "legion" members pay dues of $12 per year. Already

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the Townsendites are a powerful political factor here.

* * *

Catholic Women Hold National Council

The National Council of Catholic Women, meeting at Fort Wayne two weeks ago, passed some significant resolutions and listened to some straight speaking. Catholic parents were admonished to oppose payment of taxes to institutions that support communism or socialism. The present school system was called far from perfect. Parents should have control of children, not politicians; teachers, not bureaucrats. Persecution in Mexico was decried and newspapers, it was said, did not tell the whole truth. Movie block-booking was hit. The Catholic women favored state laws for social security and advocated peace through friendship and social justice. Birth control was declared pagan and contrary to holy law. Catholic women should withdraw from clubs which advocate it. Support was voted to the Legion of Decency.

* * *

And So Forth

One month ago 1,000 Baptist youth meeting at Franklin college voted stern opposition to war, but rejected a proposal to refuse to bear arms in case of conflict.

Father Griffin of Assumption church recently outlined the method of the church in the west and southwest in three ways, namely, street preaching of the Catholic Evidence guild, the newly organized plans for the conversion of the Negroes of this country and the work of the missionary catechists.

To climax the 400th anniversary of the English Bible, which was observed in practically all churches, Dr. Edgar Goodspeed of Chicago addressed a union service and displayed a series of old Bibles. Among the many fine things Dr. Goodspeed said was that Luther's German Bible translation was an end, while Coverdale's was only a beginning of a long series of English translations.

The Disciples have a five-point program for recovery and advance mapped out. These points include an enriched spiritual life, recovery goal of 10 millions, greater local services, recovery of $1,200,000 for cooperative causes and methods of spiritual enrichment through canvasses, education. They also plan to observe their centennial in 1939, hoping by that time to add 200,000 more members.

Dr. H. Augustine Smith last week spent a weekend with the North Methodist church. Dr. Ernest Chave of Chicago also spent a weekend with the First Baptist church. Both leaders addressed the ministers, the one on art in worship and the other on the implications of character growth.

The Methodists are having a great evangelistic conference here, assisted by Bishops Smith of Cincinnati, Cushman of Denver, Mead of Kansas City, Leonard of Pittsburgh and Lake of Detroit.

E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN.

Stewardship Council Discusses Church Money-Raising Methods

At the meeting this month in Washington, D. C., of the United Stewardship council, resolutions were passed calling attention to "methods of raising money for Christian church purposes, methods which are doubtful and even pagan." Churches are urged to study the whole range of Christian and individual giving, that which has no expectation of return in kind. The council strongly criticized the churches' promotion of fairs, card parties, sales and lotteries. The new president of the council is Rev. Herman C. Weber of New York city.

Church Unity Meeting at Syracuse University

Five hundred ministers of central New York were invited guests at a meeting held at Syracuse university—as a convocation of the university—on Dec. 8, 9, which had as its purpose to promote the cause of church unity. Dr. Richard Roberts, moderator of the United Church of Canada, spoke on the topic "Protestant Unity—a Fact," and Dr. Ivan Lee Holt, of the Federal council, followed with an address on "Protestant Unity—a Hope." Among the ideas discussed was Dr. Stanley Jones's proposition recently presented in the pages of The Christian Century for a united Protestantism. Dr. Holt told of the Federal council's plans for the year and Dr. Roberts reported the rapid growth of the Canadian church under the united plan. The names of Peter Ainslie and Bishop Brent were extolled, and the recent statement of John D. Rockefeller, jr., was read and approved. During the convocation the university presented Dr. Holt and Dr. Roberts with honorary degrees.

Mr. Brockman's "I Discover The Orient"

Fletcher S. Brockman's new book, "I Discover the Orient," which was recently advertised in the news pages of The Christian Century, is priced at $2.00, not $1.50 as indicated in the advertisement.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

The Case of the Lucky Legs

(Warren William, Genevieve Tobin) (Warner) Perry Mason mystery story made into unrecognizable jazz. Heavy-drinking-lawyer-detective-hero made so flippant and smart-aleck that farce-comedy becomes burlesque and mystery is lost in fast tempo, complexity, and struggle for laughs.

For A: Hardly. For Y: Perhaps. For C: No.

Crime and Punishment

(Peter Lorre, Edward Arnold) (Columbia) Powerful screening of Dostoyevski's grim tale about brilliant murderer, leaving no clews, driven by conscience to confess. Arnold splendid as detective. Lorre sinister and weirdly gripping as hero, but grotesque and repulsive as lover.

For A: Fine of kind. For Y: Doubtful. For C: By no means.

I Found Stella Parish

(Ian Hunter, Kay Francis, Sybil Jason) (Warner) Romantic melodrama of notable quality and fine dialogue. From London stage success, innocent heroine's unfortunate past drives herself and child into exile. Star reporter seeks, finds, loses and wins. Hunter and Jason roles excellent.

For A: Interesting. For Y: Good. For C: Beyond them.

Metropolitan

(Lawrence Tibbett, Virginia Bruce) (Fox) Thin story built expressly as frame for operatic arias and songs finely rendered with usual Tibbett vigor. His acting is highly self-confident, expansive, explosive, but hardly satisfying. Many moments unconsciously comic, or less comic than intended.

For A: Fair. For Y: Fairly good. For C: Harmless.

Over Night

(Robert Donat, Pearl Argyle) (Gaumont-British) Finely acted light melo-

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY BUSINESS OFFICE

A Message to Subscribers

THANKS are gratefully extended to the large number of subscribers who so promptly and courteously answered the questions recently directed to them.

FOR those who have not yet done so, we earnestly suggest that your frank opinion is still needed. May we have it?

ALL replies are being carefully studied. We rejoice in the number of valuable and practical plans already submitted for extending the circulation of The Christian Century.

CHRISTMAS CHEQUES are still the order of the day. Christmas week is the ideal time for their use. *Use* them *now* while they are most appropriate.

AND A MOST MERRY CHRISTMAS TO YOU!

drama about country bank clerk who yearns for city thrills, "borrows" bank funds and entrains for London. Smooth train acquaintance scents easy money, but heroine, unwilling member of gang, saves all. Three notable roles.

For A: Rather good. For Y: Good. For C: Perhaps.

Sans Famille

(French Production) (Atlantic Films) Fine screening of famous Malot story of kidnaped English boy, reared in France, buffeted by misfortune, finally restored to mother. Outstanding work by Robert Lynen, hero of "Poil de Carotte." Many scenes charming, few harsh, none dull. No English titles.

For A, Y: Excellent. For C: Mostly very good.

So Red the Rose

(Margaret Sullavan, Walter Connolly) (Para) Pictures charmingly life in the Old South, sentimental, idyllic, till civil war brings terror, hallucinations, heartbreak, tragedy, ruin and social chaos. Beautifully done, but continuous disaster makes it as depressing as entertaining. Quite anti-war.

For A, Y: Fine of kind. For C: Doubtful.

Transatlantic Tunnel

(Richard Dix, Leslie Banks, Madge Evans) (Gaumont-British) Great spectacle-drama, ably done, of gigantic engineering task to bind England and America. Done with dignity, power and surprising convincingness. Expertly achieves credible combination of human interest and monstrous mechanics.

For A, Y: Very interesting of kind. For C: Perhaps too strong.

Best Recent Fi[illegible] Family:

Midsummer Night's [illegible]	In Old Kentucky
The Bishop Misbehaves	Three Musketeers
The Virginia Judge	Annie Oakley

Films of Special Interest for Adults:

Three Kids and a Queen	Last Days of Pompeii
Rendezvous with Love	The Crusades
Mutiny on the Bounty	A Feather in Her Hat

BOOKS RECEIVED

Principles of Abnormal Psychology, by Edmund S. Conklin. Revised edition. Holt, $3.00.

The Coming American Fascism, by Lawrence Dennis. Harpers, $2.50.

There Shall Be Twilights, and other poems, by Clare MacDermott. Turner Company, Dallas.

Getting the Most out of Life, by George Edwin Rines. Meador, $2.00.

Aryans in the East, by Jan M. Kasim. Meador, $1.50.

A New Philosophy of Life, by William Wemmer. Meador, $1.00.

The Cardinal's Daughter, translated from the Italian by Nina Renna. Meador, $2.00.

The New Immoralities, clearing the way for a new Ethics, by Porter Sargent. Author, 11 Beacon St., Boston, $2.00.

The Path to Prosperity, by Gilbert M. Tucker. Putnam, $2.50.

Boz, an Intimate Biography of Charles Dickens, by Joseph C. Boardman and James L. Harte. Stratford, $2.00.

Makers of Christianity from Alfred the Great to Schleiermacher, by John T. McNeill. Holt, $2.00.

Meditations on the Cross, by Toyohiko Kagawa. Willett, Clark & Co., $1.50.

Introducing Kagawa, by Helen Topping. Willett, Clark & Co., 15 cents.

A Bird's-eye View of Jewish History, by Cecil Roth. Department of Synagogue and School Extension, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Cincinnati,

Some Preachers Do! by Bertie Cole Bays. Judson Press, Kansas City.

Creative Management, by Ordway Tead. Association Press, 50 cents.

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Rousing America and Canada like some new Peter the Hermit preaching a crusade for the capture of the City of God, Kagawa will be the most discussed Christian leader in the world during the next six months. Everywhere men will be asking, "What is the secret of this man's power? What has driven him to his apostleship in Japan's slums? What has made him the champion of a Gospel for the Lowly? What has he to preach that makes his coming an event everywhere in East and West?" Better than any other book which he has written, this latest volume of Kagawa's to be translated into English reveals the answers to all such questions. At the same time it sheds a flood of light on the central fact in Christian thought. **$1.50**

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By Frederick C. Grant

(The Religious Book Club Selection for December)

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INDEX Volume LII (July-December, 1935)

Title Index of Editorials and Contributions

A.A.U. Votes in Favor of Olympic Participation, The (edit.), 1612.
Admiral Preaches Crusade Against Russia (edit.), 875.
Advertisers Warn Against Kagawa, The (edit.), 1443.
AE, Poet and Economist Passes On (edit.), 981.
A. F. of L. Reelects Mr. Green (edit.), 1364.
Alabama Dilemma, by Renwick C. Kennedy, 917.
Amana—The Glory Has Departed, by Marcus L. Bach, 1083.
America Chooses a Naval Disarmament Delegate (edit.), 1507.
American in the Ethiopian Woodpile, The (edit.), 1131.
American Neutrality (edit.), 1478.
Anglo-German Naval Agreement (edit.), 875.
An Interim Mission (edit. corres.), by Charles Clayton Morrison, 959.
Announcing a Fundamentaler Fundamentalist Paper (edit.), 1269.
An Old Minister Dies (edit.), 1447.
An Open Mind (Quintus Quiz.), 1545.
An Open Road to Moscow (edit.), 1101.
Another Ethical Problem for World Christians (edit.), 1051.
Another Week on the War Fronts (edit.), 1398.
Appealing to the Small Investors (edit.), 933.
Are Criminals Human Beings, or Rats? (edit.), 980.
Are There Many of These Ritualistic Lutherans? (edit.), 1445.
Are We Concerned About Ethiopia, or Are We Not? (edit.), 1003.
Arms and the Woman (Quintus Quiz), 1032.
As Free as a State Church Can Be (edit.), 1446.

Back to 1914! (edit.), 1304.
"Bank Night," by Raymond Kresensky, 1034.
Baptists Take Wise Action on Social Program (edit.), 909.
Barth is Expelled from Germany (edit.), 1331.
Behind the Townsend Pension Plan (edit.), 1397.
Being a Good Predecessor (Quintus Quiz), 961.
Beware of Popularity! (Quintus Quiz), 1513.
Beyond Modernism by Harry Emerson Fosdick, 1549.
Beyond Utility, by E. Merrill Root, 1240.
Birthright Not For Sale, A (edit.), 1230.
Bishop Cites Horrible Examples of Democracy (edit.), 877.
Blotterature (Quintus Quiz), 1008.
Boondoggling (edit.), 1231.
Britain Assures and Warns France (edit.), 1270.
Britain, France, Sanctions and the Suez Canal (edit.), 1100.
Britain is to Have a General Election (edit.), 1364.
British Conservatives Win Elections (edit.), 1509.
British Plebiscite Shows Vote for Less Armament (edit.), 909.

Canadian Churches and the Ethiopian Crisis (edit.), 1132.
Canadian Election, The (edit.), 1334.
Can Communism Capture America? by Kirby Page, 1275.
Candid Words from a Newspaper Editor (edit.), 1100.
Capturing and Holding Adowa (edit.), 1302.
Catholicism and Birth Control (edit.), 1076.
Catholics and Protestants Held at Bay by Nazis (edit.), 980.
Celebrating August 27 (edit.), 1003.
Chaplains Without Military Rank, Pay and Allowances (edit.), 1267.
Chestnuts (Quintus Quiz), 1449.
China Must Resist! by Y. T. Wu, 1408.
Christianity's Handicap in Turkey (edit. corres.), by Charles Clayton Morrison, 911.
Christians and Communists, by Harry F. Ward, 1651.
Christians of America, Unite! by E. Stanley Jones, 1235.
Christian Unity and the Federal Council, by Finis S. Idleman, 1277.
Church Investments and the Holding Companies (edit.), 877.
Churchman Must Not Be Sacrificed, The (edit.), 931.
Cincinnati's Election a Blow to Good Government (edit.), 1477.
Circuit Court of Appeals Gives TVA a Free Hand (edit.), 979.
Collapse of Peace, The (edit.), 1135.
Collapse of Sanctions, The (edit.), 1646.
Communist Secretary Proposes United Front in America (edit.), 1229.
Communists Join Liberals in Resistance to Fascism (edit.), 1004.
Compulsory Military Service in the Philippines (edit.), 1475.
Conference That Should Not Be Held, A (edit.), 1445.
Congregational-Christians Vote for Peace (edit.), 1643.
Congregational Peace Ballot, The (edit.), 1228.
Congress Entertains Bill Against "Incitement to Disaffection" (edit.), 955.
Cooperative Denmark, by Soren K. Ostergaard, 1654.
Corn-Hog Farmers Endorse AAA (edit.), 1398.
Coughlin, Father, Triumphs in Cincinnati, by Earle E. Eubank, 1514.
Court Refuses to be Censor of Doctrine (edit.), 1580.
Cultural Program May Be a Good Investment (edit.), 1334.

Danger to Protestant Church Freedom Averted (edit.), 1270.
Dawes Makes a Prophecy and Offers Statistics (edit.), 1005.
Deadline Time for the WPA (edit.), 1301.
Defending Church Freedom is Now Treason to Nazis (edit.), 1612.
Desperate Methods of Utility Companies (edit.), 981.
Diaries (Quintus Quiz), 1650.
Disciples Form a Peace Fellowship (edit.), 1395.
Do I Want to Christianize the World? Yes! by Charles Clayton Morrison, 1516.
du Pont, Mr., Reveals his Philosophy (edit.), 1539.

Early One Morning (Quintus Quiz), 1080.
East End of London, The, by Muriel Lester, 938.
Eastern Church, The (edit corres.), by Charles Clayton Morrison, 983.
Eastern Orthodox Bishop Seeks Episcopal Status (edit.), 1645.
Endeavorers Warned Against Anti-War Pledge (edit.), 931.
England and the League (edit.), 1400.
Enough for Everybody, by Ira H. Frantz, 1009.
Epitaph on a Statesman, by Eric Havelock, 1519.
"Everything's All Right," by Zona Gale, 1061.

Fait Accompli is the Thing, The (edit.), 875.
Faith and Order, or Life and Work? (edit.), 1198.
Farmer and the AAA, The, by J. S. Ploughe, 1138.
Fascism, Friend and Sponsor of Armament Manufacturers (edit.), 1053.
Fascism's Desperate Gamble (edit.), 1053.
Fateful Days at Indianapolis (edit.), 1643.
Federal Court of Appeals Invalidates AAA Tax (edit.), 957.
Federal Housing Project Hits Legal Snag (edit.), 979.
Federal "Work or Starve" Policy (edit.), 1052.
Fine Art of (Political) Correspondence, The (edit.), 1165.
Firing Along the Siberian Border (edit.), 1333.
First Issue of Christendom, The (edit.), 1395.
Flying Clipper Spans the Pacific, The (edit.), 1541.
Fosdick's, Dr., Sermon (edit.), 1539.
Fosdick, Dr., Shifts the Emphasis (edit.), 1480.
France Votes Against Private Armies (edit.), 1613.
Free Speech is the Only Answer (edit.), 1164.
Fresh Hope for Unity (edit.), 1273.
From Lausanne to Edinburgh, by Willard L. Sperry, 1309.
From Stockholm to Oxford, by Samuel McCrea Cavert, 1341.
"Fynished the Fourth Day of October," by Herbert L. Willett, 1237.

Genteel Tradition in Preaching, The, by Halford E. Luccock, 1370.
Gentle Reader Drops the Adjective, A, by Hugh Stevenson Tigner, 1081.
Georgia Chain Gang Awaits Peaceful Demonstrator (edit.), 1052.
Georgia Superior Court Frees Herndon (edit.), 1613.
German Cardinals Threaten to Impose an Interdict (edit.), 1131.
German Church Directorate Not Yet Accepted (edit.), 1363.
German Churches Loyal but Protesting (edit.), 876.
German Church Must Pay Price for Freedom (edit.), 1267.
German Churches Reach a New Crisis (edit.), 1579.
German Churches Reach their Hour of Decision, The (edit.), 1299.
German Industry Strikes two New Snags (edit.), 1196.
Golden Jubilee of the Revised Version (edit.), 932.
Gold Star Missionaries in Ethiopia (edit.), 1333.
Goodwin Plan on the Rocks, The (edit.), 1196.
Great Congress, A (edit.), 1102.
Great Peace Celebration, The, by Renwick C. Kennedy, 1553.
Greece is Once More a Monarchy (edit.), 1332.
Growing Split Among Methodist Liberals, The (edit.), 1397.
Guffey Bill Presents Irreconcilable Issues (edit.), 981.

Half of Socialistic Program Legalized (edit.), 979.
Halting Mussolini (edit.), 1366.
Harlem's God, by Edwin T. Buehrer, 1590.
Harvard and the Massachusetts Teachers' Oath (edit.), 1300.
Have the War Profiteers no Conscience? (edit.), 1507.
Hawaii—A Social Laboratory, by Albert W. Palmer, 1207.
Hearst, Mr., Picks Mr. Smith (edit.), 1132.
Hearst Press Attacks Methodist "Reds" (edit.), 1051.
Henderson, Arthur, Reaches his Mount Nebo (edit.), 1364.
Herndon, Angelo, Must go to the Chain Gang (edit.), 1365.
Holmes, Dr., Writes a Stirring Peace Play (edit.), 1027.
Honesty and the Apostles' Creed (edit.), 1104.
Hull House Chooses a New Head, by Robert Morss Lovett, 1239.
Hull, Secretary, Will Stand by Paris Pact (edit.), 955.

I Don't Want to Christianize the World! by Charles T. Holman, 1483.
I Knew the Man, by Raymond Kresensky, 1653.
Illinois Voters to License Racing Handbooks (edit.), 877.
Increasing Tension in the Far East (edit.), 1445.
Independent German Seminaries Closed by Nazi Police (edit.), 1477.
Instead of Relief, by Soren K. Ostergaard, 1452.
Intelligent Use of the Radio (edit.), 1331.
International Politics in Words of One Syllable (edit.), 1197.
Is China to See a New Student Uprising? (edit.), 1644.
Is Dr. Magnes Leaving Palestine? (edit.), 1133.
Is Education Relief Being Wasted? by Leroy N. Vernon, 1520.
Is Germany Approaching a New Purge? (edit.), 1028.
Is Japan Drugging China? by Muriel Lester, 1036.
Is Japan Planning for a New Drive in China? (edit.), 1269.
Isolation, by Renwick C. Kennedy, 1455.
Is Seeing Believing? (Quintus Quiz), 1369.
I Stay in the Legion, by Albion Roy King, 1450.
Is the Depression Over? (edit.), 1271.
Italy Resumes Its Drive in Ethiopia (edit.), 1443.
Italy's Campaign Slows Up (edit.), 1581.

Japan Adopts Another Militaristic Budget (edit.), 1579.
Japanese Resent "Insult" to their Emperor (edit.), 1028.
Japanese Sailors Land Again in Shanghai (edit.), 1475.
Japan in China (edit.), 1510.
Jewish Aid Promised The Churchman (edit.), 1363.
Jews Cannot Insult Nazi Government (edit.), 1195.
Judgment Day for Pacifists, by Harry F. Ward, 1620.

Kagawa—Apostle of the Christian Cooperative (edit.), 1197.
Kagawa in America (edit.), 1542.
Keep the Olympic Discussion to the Main Issue! (edit.), 1396.
Knox, Colonel, Solves the Bonus Enigma (edit.), 1613.

Labor Sunday Message, The (edit.), 1075.
Labor Tension Increased by "Works Progress" Strike (edit.), 1051.
Lansbury Resigns Labor Party Leadership (edit.), 1332.
Lansbury the Incorruptible, by Harold E. Fey, 1339.
Lay Critic Looks at Current Art Shows, The (edit.), 1478.
League Confronts the Ethiopian Crisis, The (edit.), 1163.
League Council Gives Peace Another Chance (edit.), 1027.
League Invokes Article XVI, The (edit.), 1331.
Legion Investigates an Erring Comrade, The (edit.), 1540.
Legion Prepares for a Pension Drive, The (edit.), 1478.
Legion Renews Allegiance to the Bonus (edit.), 1268.
Liberal Retreat in China, The, by Frank Rawlinson, 1203.
Life Begins at Sixty, by Sylvia Pass, 1411.
Liggett Murder and the Outlook for a Third Party, The (edit.), 1645.
Liquor and the Newspapers (edit.), 1228.
Long, Huey (edit.), 1166.
Love of Country Means Opposition to War (edit.), 957.
Lynching of Two Days, The (edit.), 1509.

Make Our Neutrality Effective! (edit.), 1544.
Making Heaven Endurable (Quintus Quiz), 937.
Man of Meroz, The (Quintus Quiz), 1617.
Managing One's Inner Life, by Charles T. Holman, 1143.
Massacre of Automobile Victims Continues, The (edit.), 1076.
Master of the Inn, The, by Zona Gale, 1346.
Messiahs of Feudalism (edit.), 1615.
Methodist Conference Held Liable for Bond Issue (edit.), 1644.
Methodist Money Speaks! (edit.), 1029.
Methodist Reunion (edit.), 1078.
Mexico Finds Liquor Handicap to the Socialized State (edit.), 1077.
Mexico Reaffirms Curb on Catholic Church (edit.), 1476.
Mexico Takes the Left Fork (edit.), 876.
Militarism's Threat in Hawaii, by Albert W. Palmer, 1279.
Military Developments in Ethiopia (edit.), 1332.
Mind of a Chaplain, The (edit.), 1368.
Mind of a Japanese General, The (edit.), 1476.
Miners and Mine Owners, by Lawrence Wilson, 1010.
Minimum Wage for Ministers, A, (edit.), 1055.
Ministers Pledge Support to Social Movements (edit.), 1611.
Ministers Protest Against Olympic Games in Berlin (edit.), 1541.
Moral Decay of Capitalism, The (edit.), 1398.
More Cruises for Congressmen! (edit.), 1395.
Motor Speed and Sudden Death (edit.), 1397.
Mounting Costs of "National Defense" (edit.), 908.
Move the Olympics! (edit.), 1007.

Movies Take up Red Hunting, The (edit.), 1300.
Mussolini Begins to Worry (edit.), 1502.
Mussolini Presses on as Ethiopia Calls for Help (edit.), 931.
Mussolini Shows He Wants War (edit.), 1076.
Must Christians Reject Communism? by E. A. Havelock, 1307.
Must the System Be Changed? by Kirby Page, 914.

National Guard Disturbs Church with Sunday Target Practice (edit.), 956.
National Preaching Mission, A (edit.), 1582.
Nazi Intolerance Grows Clearer (edit.), 1004.
Nazis Hold Party Congress (edit.), 1196.
Naziism Reverts to Type in New Outbreak of Violence (edit.), 980.
Nazis Teach World Penologists, The (edit.), 1132.
Need We Fear Fascism? (edit.), 957.
Negro Christians Face a Grave Decision (edit.), 1134.
Negroes and the Ethiopian Crisis, by George Edmund Haynes, 1485.
Neither Revolution Nor Counter-Revolution (edit.), 908.
Neutrality Laws Go Into Effect, The (edit.), 1299.
Neutral's Right to Stay Neutral, A (edit.), 1099.
New Questions in Christian Morality (edit.), 1031.
Newspaper Publishing as a Public Service (edit.), 1270.
New York Churches Get Subsidy from Taxation (edit.), 1581.
Niebuhr Committee Reports on Consumers' Research (edit.), 1581.
Notes on the Crisis—I, II, III and IV (edit.), 1227, 1228.

Olympic Games and Nazi Ideology (edit.), 1365.
Olympic Issue Will Not Down, The (edit.), 1195.
Oil Dollar Loses Its Power, The, by Samuel Guy Inman, 1205.
On Being a Successor (Quintus Quiz), 1201.
On Being Photographed (Quintus Quiz), 1338.
One More Week to the Sanctions' Deadline (edit.), 1444.
One Problem Containing Many Variables (edit.), 876.
Opposing Generals Seek Peace in the Chaco (edit.), 1197.
Opposition Is More Noisy Than Substantial, The (edit.), 932.
Opsi-math, The (Quintus Quiz), 1402.
Other and Finer Disciplines, by Robert Henry Miller, 1059.
Other Door, The (Quintus Quiz), 1585.
Our Waning Denominations (edit.), 1511.

Paths to Peaceful Revolution, by Kirby Page, 1373.
Peace Before Profits! (edit.), 1099.
Philippines Autonomous, with American Military Adviser (edit.), 1229.
Philippines' Solo Flight with Limitations (edit.), 1509.
Pope and the War, The (edit.), 1334.
Pope Speaks, The; Can He Be Muffled? (edit.), 1131.
Preparing to Pray, by Muriel Lester, 1376.
President Defines the Issue, The (edit.), 878.
President Masaryk Retires (edit.), 1643.
President Orders the Navy to Cease Firing (edit.), 1611.
President Points with Pride, The (edit.), 1268.
President Promises Peace for America, The (edit.), 1300.
President Refuses to Intervene in Mexico, The (edit.), 1508.
President Speaks to the Farmers, The (edit.), 1612.
Price of Schacht, The (edit.), 1163.
Problem Which Faces Hitler, The (edit.), 1028.
Protests Continue Against the Berlin Olympics (edit.), 1075.
Psychology of 1917 Begins to Operate, The (edit.), 1396.
Public Works Are too Slow for Relief (edit.), 1195.

Radicalism Growing in the South (edit.), 1133.
Realism and Peace (edit.), 1579.
Red Ties of Youth, The (Quintus Quiz), 1274.
Religion and Human Relations (edit.), 1165.
Religion in Turkey (edit. corres.), by Charles Clayton Morrison, 880.
Retrospect (edit.), 1647.
Revolt Against the Sales Tax (edit.), 1301.
Rhodesia and Massachusetts Share Their Troubles (edit.), 1508.
Rising Protest Against Olympics at Berlin (edit.), 1029.
Roosevelt, Mr., Addresses American Youth (edit.), 1101.
Roosevelt, Mr., Has Been Poorly Advised (edit.), 1269.
Russia's Change of Policy on War (edit.), 1027.
Russia—Good and Evil, by Sherwood Eddy, 1171.

Saints and Strategists, by Georgia Harkness, 986.
Salute to the Flag, in the Nazi Spirit (edit.), 1333.
Scapegoat, The (edit.), 910.
Schacht, Dr., Nears the Breaking Point (edit.), 1077.
Second Note to Russia, A (edit.), 1133.
Second Year of Repeal, The, by John Haynes Holmes, 1546.
Sects and Churches, by Reinhold Niebuhr, 885.
Sedition Bill, by Renwick C. Kennedy, 1344.
Seven Thousand Troubled Islands, by Lawrence Martin, 1487.
Shall It Be State Medicine? by T. Swann Harding, 988.
Shall We Sign the Pacifist Pledge? No! by Ernest H. Wilkins, 1586.
Shall We Sign the Pacifist Pledge? Yes! by Kirby Page, 1588.
Sherrill, General, Approves Mussolini and Olympics (edit.), 1580.
Should Missionaries Remain in Turkey? (edit. corres.), by Charles Clayton Morrison, 935.
Significance of the Italian Maneuvers, The (edit.), 1100.
Sinister Article XVI (edit.), 1199.
Social Credit Wins Its First Foothold (edit.), 1099.
Social Sin and Personal Guilt, by Thomas A. Tripp, 1110.
Solecisms (Quintus Quiz), 1233.
Somebody Is Being Gypped! (edit.), 1100.
South India Union at a Standstill (edit.), 1477.
Split Widens in the Labor Movement, The (edit.), 1580.
Sport Is the Opium of the People! (edit.), 1299.
Standley, Admiral, Exhibits the Military Mind (edit.), 1228.
Staying Out Is One Way of Helping (edit.), 1365.
Stockmarket Boom Proves Nothing (edit.), 1541.
Stop This Massacre! (edit.), 1336.
Streicher Reminds America of Lynching Disgrace (edit.), 1077.
Stress and Strain in the A. F. of L. (edit.), 1301.
Strike Among Employes of Consumers' Research, The (edit.), 1268.
Subversive Influences in St. Louis Schools (edit.), 1363.
Sunday, Billy, the Last of His Line (edit.), 1476.

Tactics on the Tax Measure (edit.), 908.
Talking in Other People's Sleep (Quintus Quiz), 1306.
Taxes Always Soak the Poor (edit.), 1003.
Temple, Archbishop, Smells Heresy (edit.), 1508.
Tension in Austria Increases as Chancellor Is Injured (edit.), 956.
Third Party Movement Tries its Wings, The (edit.), 932.
This Shall Not Happen! (edit.), 907.
3640 Dead! (edit.), 1584.
To His Majesty, Haile Selassie, An Open Letter, by John Nevin Sayre and Harold E. Fey, 1033.
Townsend Plan Presents Dilemma to Politicians (edit.), 1540.
Town Without a Church, A, by Marcus L. Bach, 1623.
Twenty Million Americans (edit,), 933.
Twenty New Cardinals Are Named (edit.), 1540.

Ultra-Human, The, by Henry Nelson Wieman, 962.
Unforceable, The (Quintus Quiz), 985.
United States and League Sanctions, The (edit.), 1444.
"Unity and Strength" for a Parish (edit.), 1229.
Unknown Soldier Speaks, The, by John Haynes Holmes, 1403.
Use and Abuse of Theology, The, by Hugh Stevenson Tigner, 1618.

Vague Memories (Quintus Quiz), 1137.
Voice of God in Poetry, The, by Edward Shillito, 1311.

War as Mark Twain Saw It (edit.), 1396.
War Clouds Are Still Dark Over Africa (edit.), 955.
War Debtors Repudiate—As Usual (edit.), 1645.
Week on the African Fronts, The (edit.), 1475.
We Have the Land, by J. S. Ellis, 1176.
What Alberta Voted for, by Gorham Munson, 1108.
What Are Schools For? (Quintus Quiz), 1170.
What Are the Prospects for Britain's Arms Inquiry? (edit.), 1052.
What Christians Teach About Jews, by Frank Eakin, 1173.
What Do You Think About War and Sanctions? (edit.), 1539.
What Has Become of the Peace Bills? (edit.), 1005.
What Is Coming in the Movies? (edit.), 982.
What Is the Abundant Life? by T. Swann Harding, 882.
What Price Continued Diplomatic Relations with Moscow? (edit.), 1101.
When Christianity Was Young, by Jesse S. Dancey, 940.
When France Saved Her Honor (edit.), 956.
When Kagawa Speaks, by Louis M. Levitsky, 965.
When Should a Christian Act Like a Christian? (edit.), 1444.
When the Politician Sees More Clearly than the Archbishop (edit.), 1164.
Where Does Ethiopia Come In? (edit.), 1611.
Where Ministers and Laity Disagree (edit.), 1164.
Where the Loss of Will Rogers May Be Most Deeply Felt (edit.), 1075.
White Supremacy Wins by a Close Margin (edit.), 1004.
Whom Was Lincoln Warning? (edit.), 1644.
Why I Am Not a Communist, by Kirby Page, 1057.
Why Is a Navy? (edit.), 1614.
Why No Revival? (edit.), 1168.
Why the Bolsheviks Succeeded, by Kirby Page, 1140.
Will Mussolini Collect Blackmail? (edit.), 1163.
Will the Shipping Lobby Provide Another Teapot Dome Scandal? (edit.), 909.
Wistful Collegian, The, by Wilhelm Pauck, 1106.

Y.M.C.A. on the Olympics, The (edit.), 1443.
Youth Administration Treats Symptoms Only (edit.), 908.
Youth Demonstration for World Peace (edit.), 1267.

Subject Index

Absentee Ownership, 1010.
Abyssinia (see Ethiopia).
Adowa, 1302.
Advertising, 882.
AE (George William Russell), 981.
Aeronautics, 1541.
Aglipay, Bishop, 1229.
Agricultural Adjustment Administration, 957, 1138, 1398, 1612.
Agricultural Problems, 1176.
Aguinaldo, General, 1229.
Alberta, 1099, 1108.
Amana Community, 1083.
Amateur Athletic Union, 1612.
American Civil Liberties Union, 933.
American Commonwealth Political Federation, 932.
American Federation of Labor, 1301, 1364, 1580.
American Legion, 1268, 1444, 1450, 1478, 1540.
Anti-Semitism, 956, 980, 1195.
Apostles Creed, (see Creeds).
Archbishop of York (see York, Archbishop of).
Armaments, 1053.
Armistice Day, 1267, 1403, 1553.
Arms Inquiry, British, 1052.
Army, U. S., 1100.
Art, 1478.
Article 16 (see Sanctions).
Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, 1133.
Austria, 956.
Automobile Deaths, 1076, 1336, 1397, 1584.

Baldwin, Stanley, 1364.
Baptist Church, Northern, 909, 1511.
Bardo, Charles L., 1615.
Barth, Karl, 1331.
Bible, Revised Version of, 932.
Bingay, Malcolm W., 1100.
Birth Control, 1076.
Bolivia, 1197.
Bolshevik Revolution, 1140.
Bonus, 1268, 1478, 1613.
Boondoggling, 1231.
Brasted, Colonel Alva J., 1368.
British Elections, 1364, 1509.
Browder, Earl, 1229.

Canada, 1334.
Canadian Churches (see Churches, Canadian).
Capitalism, 914, 1398.
Cardenas, President, 876, 1077.
Catholicism (see Roman Catholic Church).
Cecil, Lord William, 877.
Chaco, 1197.
Chaplains, 1267, 1368.
Chicago Park Board, 1164.
Church Union, 1078, 1198, 1235, 1273, 1277, 1477.
Cincinnati, 1477, 1514.
Clerical Advice for President, 1269.
Colleges, 1105.
Comintern (see Third International).
Commonweal, The, 1163.
Communism and Religion, 940, 1004, 1057, 1229, 1275, 1307, 1651.
Congregational Church, 1228, 1444, 1643.
Congress, 74th Session, 1102.
Consumers Research, 1268, 1581.
Cooperative Movement, 1197, 1443, 1542, 1643, 1654.
Corn-Hog Checks, 1398.
Coughlin, Father, 1164, 1514.
Coverdale Bible, 1237.
China, 1036, 1203, 1269, 1408, 1445, 1475, 1510, 1644.
Christendom, 1395.
Christian Endeavor Society, 931.
Christian Social Action (see Social Action, Christian).
Christian Youth Peace Action, 1267.
Churches, American, 885.
Churches and Taxation, 1581.
Churches and the WPA, 1230, 1270.
Churches, Canadian, 1132.
Churches, German, 876, 980, 1004, 1131, 1267, 1299, 1363, 1446, 1477, 1579, 1612.
Churches, Negro, 1134.
Churchman, The, 907, 931, 994, 1363.
Church of Christ in America, The, 1235.
Creeds, 1104.
Crime, 980.
Czechoslovakia, 1643.

Dale, Kenneth, 1540.
Dawes, General Charles G., 1005.
Denmark, 1654.
Denominationalism, 1511.
Depression, 1271.
Detroit Free Press, 1100.
Disciples Creed (see Creeds).
Disciples of Christ, 1395, 1580.
Distribution, Problem of, 1009.
Divine, Father, 1590.
Dollfuss, Chancellor, 956.
Doshisha, University, 1051.
Douglas, Major C. H., 1099, 1108.
Dreyfus, Captain, 956.
Du Pont, Irenee, 1539.

Earle, Governor George H., 1195.
Easley, Ralph, 1051.
Eastern Orthodox Church, 983.
Eau Clair, Wis., Diocese, 1645.
Eberhart, William, 1099.
Eden, Captain, 1076.
Emergency Educational Program, 1520.
England (see Great Britain).
Episcopal Church, Protestant, 1645.
Ethiopia, 931, 955, 1003, 1027, 1033, 1053, 1076, 1100, 1131, 1132, 1135, 1163, 1199, 1205, 1227, 1270, 1302, 1305, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1366, 1397, 1398, 1443, 1475, 1485, 1507, 1581, 1611, 1646.
Exeter, Bishop of, 877.

Faith and Order, Conference, 1198, 1309.
Farmer-Labor Party, 1645.
Foreign Policy Association, 1197.
Farm Policy, U. S., 1196.
Fascism, 957, 1004, 1053, 1613.
Father Coughlin (see Coughlin, Father).
Father Divine (see Divine, Father).

XUM

Federal Council of Churches, 1075, 1168, 1277, 1611.
Flag Salute, 1333, 1508.
Fleming, D. S., 1031.
Foreign Relations, U. S., 1101, 1133.
Fosdick, Harry E., 1480, 1539, 1549.
France, 956, 1100, 1270, 1613.
Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, 1134.
Free Speech, 1164.
Fundamentalism, *1269.*

Gambling Legalized, 877.
Gannett, Frank, 1270.
George II, of Greece, 1332.
Georgia, 1052, 1613.
German Churches(see Churches, German).
Germany, 875, 980, 1028, 1077, 1132, 1163, 1195, 1196, 1331.
God, 962.
Goodell Charles L., 1168.
Goodwin Plan, 1196.
Great Britain, 875, 1100, 1270, 1400, 1645.
Greece, 1332.
Green, William, 1364.
Guffy Coal Bill, 981.

Haile Selassie, 1033, 1332.
Harrison, Senator, 908.
Harvard, 1300.
Hawaii, 1207, 1279.
Hearst, William Randolph, 1051, 1132.
Hebrew University, 1133.
Henderson, Arthur, 1364.
Herndon, Angelo, 1052, 1365, 1613.
Hitler, Adolf, 1028.
Hitler Youth, 1131.
Hoare, Sir Samuel, 955, 1611.
Holding Companies, 877, 933, 981.
Holmes, John Haynes, 1027.
Hoover, J. Edgar, 980.
Hopkins, Harry, 1052.
Housing, Federal, 979.
Howard, Roy W., 1165.
Hull House, 1239.
Hull, Secretary, 931, 955, 1131, 1444, 1507.

Ickes, Secretary, 1195.
Idleman, Finis S., 1273.
Imperialism Economic, 1205.
Institute of Human Relations, 1165.
International Penal Congress (see Penology).
Italy, 931, *1027, 1053, 1076,* 1100, *1135, 1227,* 1304, 1443, 1475, 1646.

Japan, 1028, 1036, 1051, 1269, 1333, 1408, 1475, 1510, *1579,* 1644.
Jehovah's Witnesses, 1333, 1508.
Jews, 1173, 1195.
Jews and Christians, National Council of, 1165.
Johnson, General Hugh S., 1051.
Jones, E. Stanley, *1275.*
Journalism, 1081, 1228, 1270, 1299.

Kagawa, 965, 1197, 1443, 1542, 1643.
Kellogg Pact, 955, 1003, 1135.
Kemal, Mustafa, 880.
Kerrl, Hans, 1267, 1299, 1331, 1363, 1477, 1579.
King, Mackenzie, 1334.
Knights of Columbus, 1508.
Knox, Colonel Frank, 1613.

Labor Sunday, 1075.
La Follette, Governor Philip, 1269.
Lansbury, George, 1164, 1332, 1339.
Lausanne Conference (see Faith and Order).
Laval, M., 1076, 1611, 1646.
Lawrence, Bishop William, 1104.
Lawes, Warden, 980, 1132.
Laymen, 1029.
League of Nations, 908, 931, 1027, 1135, 1163, 1199, 1331, 1365, 1400, 1444, 1646.
Legion, American (see American Legion)
Legislation, Federal, 1102.
Levinson, S. O., 876.
Lewis, John L., 981, 1580.
Liberalism, 1480, 1549.
Life and Work Conference, 1198, 1341.
Liggett, Walter W., 1645.
Liquor, 1077, 1228, 1546.
Long, Huey, 1166.
Lovett, Robert Morss, 910.
Lunn, Sir Henry, 1400.
Lutheran Church, 1445.
Lynching, 1077, 1509.
Lynn, Mass., 1333.

MacDonald, Ramsey, 1519.
Machen, J. Gresham, 1269.
Magnes, Dr. Judah L., 1133.
Manning, Bishop, 1645.
Masaryk, President, 1643.
Mather, K. F., 1300.
McArthur, General Douglas, 1229, 1475.
McConnell, Bishop F. J., 1051.
Mead, Edwin D., 1104.
Medicine, 988.
Methodist Church, 1029, 1051, 1054, 1078, 1164, 1267, 1397, 1644.
Methodist Federation for Social Service, 1397.
Mexico, 876, 1077, 1476, 1508.
Militarism, 1279.
Miller, Frank A., 1346.
Mining, 1010.
Ministerial Salaries, 1054.
Missions, 911, 935, 959, 1031, 1203, 1333, 1483, 1508, 1516.
Modernism, 1480 1549.
Mormonism 986.
Movies, 907, 982, 1034, 1100, 1300, 1363.
Murray, Archbishop John G., 1076.
Mussolini, 931, 1027, 1053, 1076, 1100, 1163, 1199, 1227, 1302, 1507, 1580.
Myers, Johnston, 1447.

National Association of Manufacturers, 1615.
National Defense, 908.
National Guard, 956.
National Religion and Labor Foundation, 1611.
National Youth Administration, 908.
Naval Disarmament Conference, 1445, 1507, 1614.
Naval Treaties, 875.
Nazis (see Germany).
Negro Churches (see Churches, Negro).
New Deal, The, 878.
Newspapers (see Journalism).
New Testament, 1173.
Neutrality Legislation, 1005, 1099, 1299, 1444, 1478, 1544.
Niebuhr, Reinhold, 1581.
Niemoeller, Reverend Martin, 1612.
North Carolina, 1004.

O'Brien, Bishop W. B., 877.
Olson, Gov. Floyd, 1645.
Olympics, 1007, 1075, 1195, 1365, 1396, 1443, 1541, 1580, 1612.
Opium, 1036.

Pacifism, 957, 1027, 1033, 1620.
Pacifist Pledge, 1586, 1588.
Pact of Paris (see Kellogg Pact).
Palestine, 1133.
Paraguay, *1197.*
Peace Ballot, English, 909, 1228.
Peace Patriots, 957.
Penology, 1132.
Pensions, 1478.
Philippines, 1229, 1395, 1475, 1487, 1509.
Philosophy, Personal, 1143.
Philosophy, Social (see Social Philosophy).
Poetry, 1240, 1311.
Pope, Pius XI, 1131, 1334.
Prayer, 1373.
Preaching, 1370, 1582.
Presbyterian Church, 1269.
Presbyterian Guardian, 1269.
Public Works Administration, 979, 1051, 1195.
Pure Food and Drugs, *882.*

Quezon, Manuel, 1229, 1475, 1509.

Race Problem, 917, 1004, 1207, 1302, 1455, 1485, 1509.
Radio, 1331.
Raven, Canon C. E., 1508.
Red Hunting, 910, 1300.
Relief, Unemployment, 1195, 1301, 1452.
Repeal (Prohibition), 1546.
Republican Party, 1132.
Revivals, 1168, 1476.
Revised Version of Bible (see Bible, Revised Version of)
Rhodesia, 1508.
Rich, Mrs. Kenneth F., 1239.
Ritualism, 1445.
Riverside Inn, 1346.
Rockefeller, John D. Junior, 1511.
Rogers, Will, 1075.
Roman Catholic Church, 1076, 1131, 1334, 1476, 1508, 1540.
Roosevelt, President, 878, 932, 1101, 1165, 1268, *1069,* 1300, 1444, *1508, 1611, 1612.*
Roper, Secretary, 909.
Russell, George William (see AE).
Russia, 875, 1027, 1004, 1101, 1133, 1140, 1171, *1333.*

Saint Louis Schools, 1363.
Sales Tax, 1301.
Sanctions, 1135, 1199, 1331, 1365, 1366, 1397, 1444, 1539, 1646.
Schacht, Dr., 1028, 1077, 1163.
Sects, 885.
Sedition Bills, 955, 1344.
Shanghai, 1475.
Sherrill, General, 1365, 1580.
Shipping Lobby, 909.
Sloan, A. P., 1615.
Smith, Alfred E., 1132.
Smith, Sidney, 1397.
Social Action, Christian, 909.
Social Credit, 1099, 1108.
Social Gospel, 1110, 1133, 1164, 1611.
Social Philosophy, 1029, 1059, 1140, 1373, 1395, 1452.
Socia' Revolution, 914.
Soldiers Field, Chicago, 1164.
South India Church Union, 1477.
Sport, 1299.
Squibb and Sons, E. R., 1331.
Stahremberg, Prince Von, 956.
Standard Oil Company, 1131, 1205.
Standley, Admiral William H., 1228, 1507.
Stirling, Admiral, 875.
Stockholm Conference (see Life and Work).
Stock Market, 1541.
Streicher, Julius, 1077.
Students and Religion, 1106.
Student Volunteer Movement, 1643.
Suez Canal, 1100.
Sunday, Billy, 1476.

Tada, General Hayao, 1269, 1476.
Taxation, 878, 908, 1003, 1581.
Teachers Oath, Massachusetts, 1300.
Tennessee Valley Authority, 979.
Theism, 962, 1311.
Theology, 1618.
Third International, 1004, 1027.
Third Party Movement, 932, 1645.
Torok, Bishop, 1645.
Townsend Plan, 1397, 1411, 1540.
Turkey, 880, 911, 935, 959.
Twain, Mark, 1396.
Tydings, Senator, 876.

Unemployment, 933, 1291.
Unknown Soldier, 1403.
United Front, 1229.
United Mine Workers, 981.
University of Chicago, 910.
University of Pennsylvania, 1539.
Utility Companies, 981.
Utley, S. Wells, 1615.

Vanity Fair, 1028.

Walcott, Ia., 1622.
Wang, Ching-Wei, 1445.
War Debts, 876, 1645.
Ward, Harry F., 1051, 1397.
War Profiteers, 1507.
Williamstown, Mass., 1165.
Works Progress Administration, 1051, 1052, 1230, 1301, 1334, 1644.
World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, 1579.
World Peaceways, 1331.

York, Archbishop of, 1164, 1508.
Young, Rev. Lorin Bradford, 1229.
Young Men's Christian Association, 1443.

Zionism, 1133.

Contributors

Bach, Marcus L.: Amana—The Glory Has Departed, 1083; A Town Without a Church, 1623.
Buehrer, Edwin T.: Harlem's God, 1590.

Cavert, Samuel McCrea: From Stockholm to Oxford, 1341.

Dancey, Jesse S.: When Christianity Was Young, *940.*

Eakin, Frank: What Christians Teach About Jews, 1173.
Eddy, Sherwood: Russia—Good and Evil, *1171.*
Ellis, J. S.: We Have the Land, 1176.
Eubank, Earle Edward: Father Coughlin Triumphs in Cincinnati, 1514.

Fey, Harold E.: To His Majesty, Haile Selassie, 1033; Lansbury the Incorruptible, 1339.
Fosdick, Harry Emerson: Beyond Modernism, a Sermon, 1549.
Frantz, Ira H.: Enough for Everybody, 1009.

Gale, Zona: "Everything's All Right," 1061; The Master of the Inn, 1346.

Harding, T. Swann: What Is the Abundant Life? 882; Shall It Be State Medicine? 988.
Harkness, Georgia: Saints and Strategists, 986.
Havelock, E. A.: Must Christians Reject Communism? 1307; Epitaph on a Statesman, 1519.
Haynes, George Edmund: Negroes and the Ethiopian Crisis, 1485.
Holman, Charles T.: Managing One's Inner Life, 1143; I Don't Want to Christianize the World! 1483.
Holmes, John Haynes: The Unknown Soldier Speaks, 1403; The Second Year of Repeal, 1546.

Idleman, Finis S.: Christian Unity and the Federal Council, 1277.
Inman, Samuel Guy: The Oil Dollar Loses Its Power, 1205.

Jones, E. Stanley: Christians of America, Unite! 1235.

Kennedy, Renwick C.: Alabama Dilemma, 917; Sedition Bill, 1344; Isolation, 1455; The Great Peace Celebration, 1553.
King, Albion Roy: I Stay in the Legion, 1450.
Kresensky, Raymond: "Bank Night," 1034; *I Knew the Man, 1653.*

Lester, Muriel: The East End of London, 938; Is Japan Drugging China? 1036; Preparing to Pray, *1376.*
Levitsky, Louis M.: When Kagawa Speaks, 965.
Lovett, Robert Morss: Hull House Chooses a New Head, 1239.
Luccock, Halford E.: The Genteel Tradition in Preaching, 1370.

Martin, Lawrence: Seven Thousand Troubled *Islands, 1487.*
Miller, Robert Henry: Other and Finer Disciplines, 1059.
Morrison, Charles Clayton: Do I Want to Christianize the World? *Yes! 1516.*
Munson, Gorham: What Alberta Voted For, 1108.

Niebuhr, Reinhold: Sects and Churches, 885.

Ostergaard, Soren K.: Instead of Relief, 1452; Cooperative Denmark, 1654.

Page, Kirby: Must the System Be Changed? 914; Why I Am Not a Communist, 1057; Why the Bolsheviks Succeeded, 1140; Can Communism Capture America? 1275; Paths to Peaceful Revolution, 1373; Shall We Sign the Pacifist Pledge? Yes! 1588.
Palmer, Albert W.: Hawaii—A Social Laboratory, 1207; Militarism's Threat in Hawaii, 1279.
Pass, Sylvia: Life Begins at Sixty, 1411.
Pauck, Wilhelm: The Wistful Collegian, 1106.
Ploughe, J. S.: The Farmer and the AAA, 1138.

Rawlinson, Frank: The Liberal Retreat in China, 1203.
Root, E. Merrill: Beyond Utility, 1240.

Sayre, John Nevin: To His Majesty, Haile Selassie, 1033.

Shillito, Edward: The Voice of God in Poetry, 1311.
Sperry, Willard L.: From Lausanne to Edinburgh, 1309.

Tigner, Hugh Stevenson: A Gentle Reader Drops the Adjective, 1081; The Use and Abuse of Theology, 1618.
Tripp, Thomas Alfred: Social Sin and Personal Guilt, 1110.

Vernon, Leroy N.: Is Educational Relief Being Wasted? 1520.

Ward, Harry F.: Judgment Day for Pacifists, 1620; Christians and Communists, 1651.
Wieman, Henry Nelson: The Ultra-Human, 962.
Wilkins, Ernest H.: Shall We Sign the Pacifist Pledge? No! 1586.
Willett, Herbert L.: "Fynished the Fourth Day of *October," 1237.*
Wilson, Lawrence: Miners and Mine Owners, 1010.
Wu, Y. T.: China Must Resist! 1408.

Book Reviews

Accuracy of the Bible, The, by A. S. Yahuda, *1243.*
Adams, James T.: The Record of America, 1018.
Addams, Jane: A Biography, by James W. Linn; 1422.
Addams, Jane, of Hull House, by Winifred E. Wise, 967.
Adventures of General Marbot, by Capt. John W. Thomason, Jr., 1425.
Aichhorn, August: Wayward Youth, *1417.*
Air-Storming, a collection of 40 radio talks by Hendrik W. Van Loon, 1523.
Albert of Belgium, Defender of Right, by Emile Cammaerts, *1658.*
Aldrich, Bess Streeter: Spring Came on Forever, 1658.
Alexander, W. W.: The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, *1414.*
Alleged Great-Aunt, The, by Henry K. Webster and Janet A. Fairbank and Margaret Ayer Barnes, 967.
All the Young Men, by Oliver La Farge, 1251.
All Things Are Possible, by Lewis Browne, 1563.
American Consultation in World Affairs for the Preservation of Peace, by Russell M. Cooper, *1118.*
American Jesuits, by James J. Walsh, 1038.
American Primers, edited by Percy W. Bidwell, 1426.
An Anthology of World Prose, edited by Carl Van Doren, 943.
And Gladly Teach: Reminiscences, by Bliss Perry, 1378.
Andrews, F. Emerson: New Numbers, *1251.*
Anglicanism, compiled by Paul E. More and Frank L. Cross, 1039.
Art Students' Anatomy, by Edmond J. Farris, 1425.
Ashley, Roscoe L.: Our Contemporary Civilization, 1563.
Asylum, by William Seabrook, 1283.
A Way to Life, by Ernest F. Tittle, 1555.

Babouk, by Guy Endore, 1313.
Back to Work, by Harold L. Ickes, 1014.
Barnes, Harry E.: The History of Western Civilization, *1420.*
Barnes, Margaret A.: The Alleged Great-Aunt, 967.
Barrett, E. Boyd: Rome Stoops to Conquer, 1413.
Barth, Karl: De Apostolische Geloofsbelydenis, *1113.*
Basler, Roy P.: The Lincoln Legend, 1349.
Bays, Bertie Cole: Some Preachers Do! 1658.
Becker, Edna: Pickpocket Songs, 1315.
Bergson, Henri: Morality and Religion, *1415.*
Bidwell, Percy W.: American Primers, 1426.
Black Consul, The, by Anatolii Vinogradov, 1313.
Blessed Is the Man, by Louis Zara, 919.
Blodgett, Ruth: Easter Holiday, *1211.*
Blood-Drenched Altars, by Bishop Francis C. Kelly, 1014.
Book of Day, The, by Charles F. Wishart, 891.
Bowen, Trevor: Divine White Right, *1242.*
Bower, William C.: The Church at Work in the Modern World, 1417.
Bowie, W. Russell: The Renewing Gospel, 1561.
Bowman, Heath: Mexican Odyssey, 1593.
Bradley, Preston: Mastering Fear, 1491.
Breakdown, by Robert Briffault, 1419.
Briffault, Robert: Europa; Breakdown, 1419.
Brown, Alice: The Willoughbys, 1147.
Browne, Lewis: All Things Are Possible, 1563.
Brown, William Adams: The Church: Catholic and Protestant, 1016.
Broun, Heywood: It Seems to Me, 1283.
Brunton, Paul: A Search in Secret India, 1245.
Burners of Men, by Marcel Griaule, 1251.
Butterfield 8, by John O'Hara, 1563.

Calder, Isabel M.: Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys, 1427.
Callaghan, Morley: They Shall Inherit the Earth, 1562.
Calverton, V. F.: The Passing of the Gods, 1086.
Cammaerts, Emile: Albert of Belgium, Defender of Right, 1658.
Cannibal Cousins, by John H. Cragie, 1313.
Cannon, Alexander: Powers That Be, 1459.
Capek, Karel: President Masaryk Tells His Story, 1248.
Cecil, David: Early Victorian Novelists, 1594.
Celebrities Off Parade, by William D. Orcutt, 1348.
Chambers, R. W.: Thomas More, 1115.
Chart of Plenty, The, by Harold Loeb and others, 1114.
Chase, Kate, Dominant Daughter, by Mary Merwin Phelps, 890.
Chase, Stuart: Government in Business, 1250.
Clark, Thomas Curtis: Home Roads and Far Horizons, 1250.
Cheyney, Ralph: Sierra Dreamers' House, 1564.
Chidsey, Donald B.: The Gentleman from New York, 890.
Childs, Harwood L.: Pressure Groups and Propaganda, *1422.*
Chronicle of the Slavs, The, by Helmold, translated by Francis J. Tschan, 1522.
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Church Against the World, The, by H. Richard Niebuhr, Wilhelm Pauck and Francis Miller, *1457.*
Church at Work in the Modern World, The, edited by William C. Bower, 1417.
Church's Creeds and the Modern Man, The, by *H. D. A. Major, 1522.*
Church, The: Catholic and Protestant, by William A. Brown, 1016.
Coffin, Robert P. T.: Red Sky in the Morning, 1565.
Coffin, Robert P. Tristram: Strange Holiness, 1426.
Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, The, by Charles S. Johnson, E. R. Embree and W. W. Alexander, 1414.
College Conundrum, The, edited by James M. Tood, 1562.
Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys, edited *by Isabel M. Calder, 1427.*
Colwell, Ernest C.: A Greek Papyrus Reader, 1114.
Coming Struggle for Power, The, by John Strachey, 1594.
Commons, John R.: Institutional Economics, 1245.
Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue, The, by James Parkes, 1117.
Constitutional Government in the Spotlight, by *William H. Hirst, 1118.*
Contemporary British Literature, by Fred B. Millett, 1459.
Content of Motion Pictures, The, by Edgar Dale, 890.
Cooperation and the World Mission, by John R. Mott, 1559.
Cooperation: A Survey of the History, Principles and Organization of the Cooperative Movement in Great Britain and Ireland, by F. Hall and W. P. Watkins, 1246.
Cooper, Russell M.: American Consultation in World Affairs for the Preservation of Peace, 1118.
Cornish of Scotland Yard, by G. W. Cornish, 1118.
Cornish, G. W.: Cornish of Scotland Yard, 1118.
Cragie, John H.: Cannibal Cousins, 1313.
Creative Management, by Ordway Tead, 1658.
Crime, Incorporated, by Martin Mooney, 1626.
Cross, Frank L.: Anglicanism, 1039.
Crystal Flute, The, by Adelaide Love, 1378.
Curse in the Colophon, The, by Edgar J. Goodspeed, 1282.

Dabis-DuBois, Rachel: The Jews in American Life, 1039.
Dale, Edgar: The Content of Motion Pictures, 890.
Dana, Julian: Gods Who Die, 1564.
Danton, Dictator of the French Revolution, by Hermann Wendel, *1563.*
Day, Clarence: God and My Father; Life With Father, 1414.
De Apostolische Geloofsbelydenis, by Karl Barth, 1113.
Deep Dark River, by Robert Rylee, 967.
Delinquent Boy and the Correctional School, The, by Norman Fenton, 1562.
Denison, J. H.: Mark Hopkins, *1424.*
Der Ling, Princess: Son of Heaven, 943.
Dewey, John: Liberalism and Social Action, 1210.
Dibelius, Martin: From Tradition to Gospel, 1246.
Dickinson, Stirling: Mexican Odyssey, *1593.*
Dictators and Democracies Today, by John Martin, 1063.
Dictatorship in the Modern World, edited by Guy S. Ford, 1557.
Divine White Right, by Trevor Bowen, 1242.
Doe, Reverend John, D.D., by Edwin M. Poteat, *Jr., 1118.*
Doob, Leonard W.: Propaganda, 1555.
Doran's Ministers' Manual for 1936, compiled and edited by G. B. F. Hallock, 1562.
Doskow, Ambrose: Historic Opinions of the United States Supreme Court, 1626.
Douglass, Paul F.: God Among the Germans, 919.
Duncan, George S.: The Epistle to the Galatians, *1063.*
Du Pont Dynasty, The, by John K. Winkler, 1178.
Dutton, Charles J.: Oliver Hazard Perry, 1564.

Early Victorian Novelists, by David Cecil, 1594.
Easter Holiday, by Ruth Blodgett, 1211.
Economic Consequences of the New Deal, The, by H. Stolberg and W. J. Vinton, 888.
Education for an Age of Power, by Joseph K. Hart 1115.
Eggleston, Margaret W.: Faith or Fear in Child Training, 1118.
Eisbart, Charles F.: The Book of Day, 891.
Eliot, T. S.: Murder in the Cathedral, 1249.
Embree, Edwin R.: The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, 1414.
Enchanted Acre, by Gove Hambridge, 1459.
Endore, Guy: Babouk, 1313.
Epistle to the Galatians, The, by George S. Duncan, 1063.
Ervine, St. John: God's Soldier, General William Booth, 991.
Ethiopia, a Pawn in European Diplomacy, by Ernest Work, 1458.
Europa, by Robert Briffault, 1419.
European Experiences, by Mabel D. Luhan, 1562.
European Journey, by Philip Gibbs, 893.

Facing Two Ways—The Story of My Life, by Baroness S. Ishimoto, 1419.
Fairbank, Janet A.: The Alleged Great-Aunt, 967.
Fairchild, Henry P.: General Sociology, 893.
Faith or Fear in Child Training, by Margaret W. Eggleston, 1118.
Farris, Edmond J.: Art Students' Anatomy, 1425.
Father and I, by Kazuo Koizumi, 1414.
Feliciana, by Stark Young, 1018.
Fenton, Norman: The Delinquent Boy and the Correctional School, 1562.
Finer, Herman: Mussolini's Italy, 1413.
Finlayson, Lord Donald: Michelangelo the Man, 943.
Finney, Theodore M.: A History of Music, 1459.
First Legion, The, by Emmet Lavery, 1118.
Fleming, Berry: Siesta, 1039.
Flowering Judas and Other Stories, by Katherine A. Porter, 1426.
Flying Family in Greenland, The, by George R. Hutchinson, 1426.
Fool of Faith, A, by Jarl Hammer, 1558.
Ford, Guy S.: Dictatorship in the Modern World, *1557.*
Foreign Missionary Enterprise and Its Sincere Critics, The, by Cleland B. McAfee, 892.
Foreman, Clark: The New Internationalism, 1013.
Forward—March! by Frank J. Mackey and Marcus W. Jernegan, 1425.
Frame, Hugh F.: Wonderful Counsellor, 1423.
Freedom of the Press, by George Seldes, 1145.
*From the Pyramids to Paul, edited by Lewis Gas*ton Leary, 1313.
From Tradition to Gospel, by Martin Dibelius, 1246.
Frontier Folkways, by James G. Leyburn, 967.
Furys, The, by James Hanley, 1210.
Future Life, The, by F. A. M. Spencer, 1244.

Garden Grows, The, by John F. Leeming, 1018.
Garibaldi, Guiseppe: A Toast to Rebellion, *1426.*
Garment of the Living God, The, by James Y. Simpson, 889.
General Sociology, by Henry P. Fairchild, 893.
Gentleman from New York, The, by Donald B. Chidsey, 890.
Gibbon, John M.: Steel of Empire, 1349.
Gibbs, Philip: European Journey, 893.
God Among the Germans, by Paul F. Douglass, *919.*
God and My Father, by Clarence Day, 1414.
God and the Common Life, by Robert Lowry Calhoun, 1242.
God in These Times, by Henry P. Van Dusen, *1112.*
God's Soldier, General William Booth, by St. John Ervine, 991.
Gods Who Die, the Story of Samoa's Greatest Adventurer, by Julian Dana, 1564.
God Works Through Medicine, by Victor H. Lukens, 1593.
Gompers, Samuel: Champion of the Toiling Masses, by Rowland H. Harvey, 1017.
Goodspeed, Edgar J.: A Greek Papyrus Reader, 1114; The Curse in the Colophon, 1282.
Gosnell, Harold F.: Negro Politicians, 1116.
Government in Business, by Stuart Chase, 1250.
Grabo, Carl: The Meaning of "The Witch of Atlas," 942; "Prometheus Unbound," 942.
Greek Papyrus Reader, A, by Edgar J. Goodspeed and Ernest C. Colwell, 1114.
Griaule, Marcel: Burners of Men, 1251.

Hall, Carrie: The Romance of the Patchwork Quilt in America, 1348.
Hall, F.: Cooperation, 1246.
Halliburton, Richard: Seven League Boots, 1490.
Hallock, G. B. F.: Doran's Ministers' Manual for 1936, 1562.
Hambridge, Gove: Enchanted Acre, 1459.
Hanley, James: The Furys, 1210.
Hannam, Wilfrid L.: Luke the Evangelist, 1247.
Hansen, Harry: Your Life Lies Before You, 1426.
Harding, T. Swann: The Popular Practice of Fraud, *1242.*
Harkness, Georgia: Holy Flame, 1563.
Harlow, S. Ralph: Social and Religious Problems of Young People, 889.
Harmon, N. Bishop: Science and Religion, 1418.
Hargrave, John: Summer Time Ends, 1563.
Harrison, Henry: Illinois Poets, 1522.
Hart, Joseph K.: Education For an Age of Power, 1115.
Harvey, Rowland H.: *Samuel Gompers, 1017.*
Haugen, Randolph E.: Christmas, 1563.
Hawkridge, Emma: Indian Gods and Kings, 1459.
Helmold, The Chronicle of the Slavs, 1522.
Hemmer, Jarl: A Fool of Faith, 1558.
Hirst, William H.: Constitutional Government in the Spotlight, 1118.
Historic Opinions of the United States Supreme Court, edited by Ambrose Doskow, *1626.*
History and Interpretation in the Gospels, by Robert H. Lightfoot, 1562.
History of Music, A, by Theodore M. Finney, 1459.
History of Western Civilization, The, by Harry Elmer Barnes, 1420.
Hollingworth, H. L.: The Psychology of the Audience, 919.
Holtby, Winifred: Women, 1315.
Holy Flame, by Georgia Harkness, 1563.
Home Roads and Far Horizons, by T. C. Clark, 1250.
"Honour Come Back," by Naomi Jacobs, 1118.
Hopkins, Mark, a biography, by J. H. Denison, 1424.
Hoyt, John W.: Uniting for Larger Service, 1557.
Houf, Horace T.: What Religion Is and Does, 1248.
Howard, John T.: Ethelbert Nevin, 1349.
Huntington, Virginia E.: Shining Moment, 1523.
Hutchinson, George R.: The Flying Family in Greenland, 1426.

Ickes, Harold L.: Back to Work, 1014.
Illinois Poets, edited by Henry Harrison, 1522.
Indian Gods and Kings: the Story of a Living Past, by Emma Hawkridge, 1459.
In Search of Love, by Francis Stuart, 1565.
Institutional Economics, by John R. Commons, 1245.

Internationalism and Disarmament, by Mary E. Woolley, 1147.
Introducing Kagawa, by Helen Topping, 1657.
Invisible Landscapes, by Edgar Lee Masters, 1625.
Ishimoto, Shidzue: Facing Two Ways, 1419.
Italian Sculpture of the Renaissance, by Eric Maclagan, 1490.
It Seems to Me, 1925-1935, by Heywood Broun, 1283.
I Was Hitler's Prisoner, by Stefan Lorant, 967.

Jacobs, Naomi: "Honour Come Back," 1118.
Jake, by Naomi R. Smith, 1563.
Japan's Policies and Purposes, by Hirosi Saito, 1458.
Jastrow, Joseph: Wish and Wisdom, 1426.
Jay, John, Defender of Liberty, by Frank Monaghan, 1347.
Jenkins, William S.: Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South, 1242.
Jernegan, Marcus W.: Forward—March! 1425.
Jews in American Life, The, edited by Rachel Davis-Dubois and E. Schweppe, 1039.
Johnson, Charles S.: The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, 1414.
Johnson, Martin: Over African Jungles, 1251.
Jones, H. Spencer: Worlds Without End, 1625.
Jones, Rufus M.: Re-Thinking Religious Liberalism, 1016.

Kagawa, Toyohiko: Meditations on the Cross, 1657.
Kelly, Bishop Francis C.: Blood-Drenched Altars, 1014.
Kent, Rockwell: Salamina, 1564.
Koizumi, Kazuo: Father and I, 1414.
Kretzinger, Rose: The Romance of the Patchwork Quilt in America, 1348.

La Farge, Oliver: All the Young Men, 1251.
Laidler, Harry W.: Socializing Our Democracy, 1086.
Lane, Rose W.: Old Home Town, 1563.
Lanham, Edwin: The Wind Blew West, 1349.
Latter Howe, by Doreen Wallace, 1211.
Lavery, Emmet: The First Legion, 1118.
Leary, Lewis G.: From the Pyramids to Paul, 1313.
Least of These, The, by Jay G. Sigmund, 1314.
Leeming, John F.: The Garden Grows, 1018.
Leyburn, James G.: Frontier Folkways, 967.
Liberalism and Social Action, by John Dewey, 1210.
Life and Teaching of the Masters of the Far East, by Baird T. Spalding, 1252.
Life With Father, by Clarence Day, 1414.
Lightfoot, Robert H.: History and Interpretation in the Gospels, 1562.
Light From Arcturus, by Mildred Walker, 1018.
Ligon, Ernest M.: The Psychology of Christian Personality, 1560.
Little Gate, The, by Bertha G. Woods, 1563.
Lincoln Legend, The, by Roy P. Basler, 1349.
Lindbergh, Anne M.: North to the Orient, 1039.
Lindsay, Vachel, a Biography, by Edgar L. Masters, 1377.
Linke, Lilo: Restless Days, 1561.
Linn, James W.: Jane Addams, 1422.
Loeb, Harold, The Chart of Plenty, 1114.
Loederer, Richard A.: Voodoo Fires in Haiti, 1561.
Lorant, Stefan: I Was Hitler's Prisoner, 967.
Love, Adelaide: The Crystal Flute, 1378.
Lowry, Robert: God and the Common Life, 1242.
Luhan, Mabel D.: European Experiences, 1562.
Luke the Evangelist, A Study of His Purpose, by Wilfrid L. Hannam, 1247.
Lukens, Victor H.: God Works Through Medicine, 1593.

Maeterlinck, Maurice: The Supreme Law, 967.
MacCallum, Elizabeth P.: Rivalries in Ethiopia, 1458.
Macdonell, A. G.: A Visit to America, 1658.
Mackey, Frank J.: Forward—March! 1425.
Maclagan, Eric: Italian Sculpture of the Renaissance, 1490.
Major, H. D. A.: The Church's Creeds and the Modern Man, 1522.
Manifest Destiny, by Albert K. Weinberg, 1112.
Mark Twain, the Man and His Work, by Edward Wagenknecht, 1236.
Martin, John: Dictators and Democracies Today, 1063.
Martin, Herbert: A Philosophy of Friendship, 1420.
Marxism and Modern Thought, by Bukharin, Deborin, Uranovsky, Tiumeniev and others, 1424.
Mary Poppins Comes Back, by P. L. Travers, 1593.
Masaryk, President, Tells His Story, by Karel Capek, 1248.
Masefield, John: Poems, 894; Victorious Troy, 1564.
Mastering Fear, by Preston Bradley, 1491.
Masters, Edgar L.: Vachel Lindsay, 1377; Invisible Landscapes, 1625.
Materials for a Life of Jacopo da Varagine, by Ernest C. Richardson, 1560.
McAfee, Cleland B.: The Foreign Missionary Enterprise and Its Sincere Critics, 892.
McClelland, Clarence P.: Question Marks and Exclamation Points, 1425.
McFayden, J. F.: The Message of the Parables, 1116.
Mead, Frank S.: 250 Bible Biographies, 1118.
Meaning of "The Witch of Atlas," The, by Carl Grabo, 942.
Means, Paul B.: Things That Are Cæsar's, 1349.
Means, Philip A.: The Spanish Main, 1565.
Meditations on the Cross, by Toyohiko Kagawa, 1657.
Men of Zeal, by William W. Sweet, 1564.
Message of the Parables, The, by J. F. McFayden, 1116.
Mexican Odyssey, by Heath Bowman and Stirling Dickinson, 1563.
Michelangelo the Man, by Donald Lord Finlayson, 943.
Miller, Francis: The Church Against the World, 1457.
Millett, Fred B.: Contemporary British Literature, 1459.
Milner, Jean S.: The Sky Is Red, 1418.
Mixed Pastures, by Evelyn Underhill, 889.
Modernist Movement in the Roman Church, The, by A. R. Vidler, 1038.
Monaghan, Frank: John Day, Defender of Liberty, 1347.
Moneyless Government, Anonymous, 1421.
Money Revolution, The, by Sir Charles Morgan-Webb, 1421.
Mooney, Martin: Crime, Incorporated, 1626.
Morality and Religion, by Henri Bergson, 1415.
More, Paul E.: Anglicanism, 1039.
More, Thomas, by R. W. Chambers, 1115.
Morgan-Webb, Sir Charles: The Money Revolution, 1421.
Morgan, W. H.: Student Religion During Fifty Years, 1556.
Morrison, Theodore: Notes of Death and Life, 1116.
Morrow, Dwight, A Biography, by Harold Nicholson, 1282.
Mott, John R.: Cooperation and the World Mission, 1559.
Murder in the Cathedral, by T. S. Eliot, 1249.
Mussolini's Italy, by Herman Finer, 1413.
My Country and My People, by Lin Yutang, 1423.

Negro Politicians, by Harold F. Gosnell, 1116.
New America, The, by H. G. Wells, 992.
New Armor for Old, by William O'Sullivan, 1557.
New Internationalism, The, by Clark Foreman, 1013.
New Numbers, by F. Emerson Andrews, 1251.
New Testament Idea of Revelation, The, by Ernest F. Scott, 1015.
New Yorker Book of Verse, The, 1426.
Nevin, Ethelbert, a Biography, by John T. Howard, 1349.
Nicholson, Harold: Dwight Morrow, 1282.
Niebuhr, H. Richard: The Church Against the World, 1457.
Noble, George N.: Policies and Opinions at Paris, 1919, 1593.
Normative Psychology of Religion, by Henry Nelson and Regina W. Wieman, 1281.
North to the Orient, by Anne M. Lindbergh, 1039.
Notes of Death and Life, by Theodore Morrison, 1116.
Nyabongo, Akiki N.: The Story of an African Chief, 1247.

O'Brien, P. J.: Will Rogers, 1283.
O'Conner, Harvey: Steel—Dictator, 1556.
O'Hara, John: Butterfield 8, 1563.
Old Home Town, by Rose W. Lane, 1563.
O'Neill, Eugene, a Poet's Quest, by Richard D. Skinner, 1415.
Orcutt, William D.: Celebrities Off Parade, 1348.
Origin of Religion, The, by Samuel M. Zwemer, 1559.
O'Sullivan, William: New Armor for Old, 1557.
Our Contemporary Civilization, by Roscoe L. Ashley, 1563.
Over African Jungles, by Martin Johnson, 1251.

Parker, Robert A.: A Yankee Saint, 1416.
Parkes, James: The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue, 1117.
Pascarella Family, The, by Franz Werfel, 1210.
Passing of the Gods, The, by V. F. Calverton, 1086.
Patton, Cornelius H.: The Rediscovery of Wordsworth, 1564.
Pauck, Wilhelm: The Church Against the World, 1457.
Perry, Bliss: And Gladly Teach, 1378.
Perry, Oliver Hazard, by Charles J. Dutton, 1564.
Phelps, Mary M.: Kate Chase, Dominant Daughter, 890.
Philosophy of Friendship, A, by Herbert Martin, 1420.
Pickens, Robert S.: Storm Clouds Over Asia, 894.
Pickpocket Songs, by Edna Becker, 1315.
Poems, by John Masefield, 894.
Poet as Citizen, The, and other papers, by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, 1426.
Policies and Opinions at Paris, 1919, by George N. Noble, 1593.
Popular Practice of Fraud, The, by T. Swann Harding, 1242.
Porter, Katherine A.: Flowering Judas and Other Stories, 1426.
Poteat, Edwin M., Jr.: Reverend John Doe, D.D., 1118.
Powers That Be, by Alexander Cannon, 1459.
Pressure Groups and Propaganda, edited by Harwood L. Childs, 1422.
"Promethus Unbound," by Carl Grabo, 942.
Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique, by Leonard W. Doob, 1555.
Pro Patria, by Ramon J. Sender, 1421.
Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South, by William S. Jenkins, 1242.
Psychology of Christian Personality, The, by Ernest M. Ligon, 1560.
Psychology of the Audience, The, by H. L. Hollingworth, 919.

Question Marks and Exclamation Points, by Clarence P. McClelland, 1425.
Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur: The Poet as Citizen, 1426.

Ransom, Bishop R. G.: Year Book of Negro Churches, 1314.
Read, Ralph: The Younger Churchmen Look at the Church, 888.
Record of America, The, by James T. Adams and Charles G. Vannest, 1018.
Rediscovery of Wordsworth, The, by Cornelius H. Patton, 1564.
Red Sky in the Morning, by Robert P. T. Coffin, 1565.
Renewing Gospel, The, by W. Russell Bowie, 1561.
Restless Days, by Lilo Linke, 1561.
Re-Thinking Religious Liberalism, by Rufus M. Jones, 1016.
Richardson, Ernest C.: Materials for a Life of Jacopo da Varagine, 1560.
Rich, Daniel C.: Seurat and the Evolution of "La Grande Jatte," 1425.
Rivalries in Ethiopia, by Elizabeth P. MacCallum, 1458.
Rogers, Will, Ambassador of Good Will and Prince of Wit and Wisdom, by P. J. O'Brien, 1283.
Role of Money, The, by Frederick Soddy, 1421.
Romance of the Patchwork Quilt in America, The, by C. Hal and R. Kretzinger, 1348.
Romanoff, by Leonid Soboleff, 1118.
Rome Stoops to Conquer, by E. Boyd Barrett, 1413.
Rylee, Robert: Deep Dark River, 967.

Saito, Hirosi: Japan's Policies and Purposes, 1458.
Salamina, by Rockwell Kent, 1564.
Schweppe, Emma: The Jews in American Life, 1039.
Science and Religion, by N. Bishop Harmon, 1418.
Science, a New Outline, by J. W. N. Sullivan, 1563.
Scott, Ernest F.: The New Testament Idea of Revelation, 1015.
Scott, Natalie V.: Your Mexican Kitchen, 1460.
Seabrook, William: Asylum, 1283.
Search in Secret India, A, by Paul Brunton, 1245.
Seldes, George: Freedom of the Press, 1145.
Selected Poems and Parodies, by Louis Untermeyer, 1564.
Sender, Ramon J.: Pro Patria, 1421.
Seurat and the Evolution of "La Grande Jatte," by Daniel C. Rich, 1425.
Seven League Boots, by Richard Halliburton, 1490.
Shedd, Clarence P.: Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements, 1314.
Shining Moment, by Virginia E. Huntington, 1523.
Sierra Dreamers' House, by Lucia Trent and Ralph Cheyney, 1564.
Siesta, by Berry Fleming, 1039.
Sigmund, Jay G.: The Least of These, 1314.
Simpson, James Y.: The Garment of the Living God, 889.
Skinner, Richard D.: Eugene O'Neill, 1415.
Sky Is Red, The, by Jean S. Milner, 1418.
Smith, Naomi R.: Jake, 1563.
Soboleff, Leonid: Romanoff, 1118.
Social and Religious Problems of Young People, by Sidney M. Weston and S. Ralph Harlow, 889.
Socializing Our Democracy, by Harry W. Laidler, 1086.
Soddy, Frederick: The Role of Money, 1421.
Some Preachers Do! by Bertie Cole Bays, 1658.
Son of Heaven, by Princess Der Ling, 943.
Spalding, Baird T.: Life and Teaching of the Masters of the Far East, 1252.
Spangled Banner, by Victor Weybright, 892.
Spanish Main, The, by Philip A. Means, 1565.
Spencer, F. A. M.: The Future Life, 1244.
Sperry, Willard L.: What You Owe Your Child, 892; Wordsworth's Anti-Climax, 1146.
Spring Came on Forever, by Bess Streeter Aldrich, 1658.
Steel—Dictator, by Harvey O'Conner, 1556.
Steel of Empire, by John Murray Gibbon, 1349.
Stevens, Barbara B.: Walk Humbly, 1522.
Stuart, Francis: In Search of Love, 1565.
Stolberg, Benjamin: The Economic Consequences of the New Deal, 888.
Storm Clouds Over Asia, by Robert S. Pickens, 894.
Story of an African Chief, The, by Akiki N. Nyabongo, 1247.
Strachey, John: The Coming Struggle for Power, 1594.
Strange Holiness, by Robert P. Tristram Coffin, 1426.
Student Religion During Fifty Years, by W. H. Morgan, 1556.
Sullivan, J. W. N.: Science, a New Outline, 1563.
Sullivan, Mark: The Twenties, 1490.
Summer Time Ends, by John Hargrave, 1563.
Supreme Law, The, by Maurice Maeterlinck, 967.
Sweet, Wiliam W.: Men of Zeal, 1564.

Tead, Ordway: Creative Management, 1658.
They Shall Inherit the Earth, by Morley Callaghan, 1562.
Things That Are Cæsar's, by Paul B. Means, 1349.
Things to Come, by H. G. Wells, 1490.
Thomason, Capt. John W., Jr.: Adventures of General Marbot, 1425.
Tittle, Ernest F.: A Way to Life, 1555.
Toast to Rebellion, A, by Guiseppe Garibaldi, 1426.
Todd, James M.: The College Conundrum, 1562.
Topping, Helen: Introducing Kagawa, 1657.
Travers, P. L.: Mary Poppins Comes Back, 1593.
Trent, Lucia: Sierra Dreamers' House, 1564.
Twenties, The: Volume VI of Our Times, by Mark Sullivan, 1490.
Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements, by Clarence P. Shedd, 1314.
250 Bible Biographies, by Frank S. Mead, 1118.

Underhill, Evelyn: Mixed Pastures, 889.
Uniting for Larger Service, by John W. Hoyt, 1557.
Untermeyer, Louis: Selected Poems and Parodies, 1564.

Van Doren, Carl: An Anthology of World Prose, 943.
Van Dusen, Henry P.: God in These Times, 1112.
Van Loon, Hendrik W.: Air-Storming, 1523.
Vannest, Charles G.: The Record of America, 1018.
Victorious Troy, or The Hurrying Angel, by John Masefield, 1564.
Vidler, A. R.: The Modernist Movement in the Roman Church, 1038.
Vinogradov, Anatolii: The Black Consul, 1313.
Vinton, Warren Jay: The Economic Consequences of the New Deal, 888.
Visit to America, A, by A. G. Macdonell, 1658.

Voodoo Fires in Haiti, by Richard A. Loederer, 1561.

Wagenknecht, Edward: Mark Twain, the Man and His Work, 1626.
Walker, Mildred: Light from Arcturus, 1018.
Walk Humbly, by Barbara B. Stevens, 1522.
Wallace, Doreen: Latter Howe, 1211.
Walsh, James J.: American Jesuits, 1038.
War Memoirs of Robert Lansing, 1244.
Watkins, W. P.: Cooperation, 1246.
Way to Life, A, by Ernest F. Tittle, 1555.
Wayward Youth, by August Aichhorn, 1417.
Webster, Henry K.: The Alleged Great-Aunt, 967.
Weinberg, Albert K.: Manifest Destiny, 1112.
Weller, Charles F.: World Fellowship, 1562.
Wells, H. G.: The New America, the New World, 992; Things to Come, 1490.
Wendel, Hermann: Danton, Dictator of the French Revolution, 1563.
Werfel, Franz: The Pascarella Family, 1210.
Weston, Sidney M.: Social and Religious Problems of Young People, 889.
Weybright, Victor: Spangled Banner, 892.
What Religion Is and Does, by Horace T. Houf, 1248.
What You Owe Your Child, by Willard L. Sperry, 892.
Why Wars Must Cease, by ten writers, 1013.
Wieman, Henry Nelson and Regina W.: Normative Psychology of Religion, 1281.
Willoughbys, The, by Alice Brown, 1147.
Wind Blew West, The, by Edwin Lanham, 1349.
Winkler, John K.: The Du Pont Dynasty, 1178.
Wise, Winifred E.: Jane Addams of Hull House, 967.
Wish and Wisdom, by Joseph Jastrow, 1426.
Women, by Winifred Holtby, 1315.
Wonderful, Counsellor, by Hugh F. Frame, 1423.
Woods, Bertha G.: The Little Gate, 1563.
Woolley, Mary E.: Internationalism and Disarmament, 1147.
Wordsworth's Anti-Climax, by Willard L. Sperry, 1146.
Work, Ernest: Ethiopia, a Pawn in European Diplomacy, 1458.
World Fellowship, edited by Charles F. Weller, 1562.
Worlds Without End, by H. Spencer Jones, 1625.

Yankee Saint, A—John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community, by Robert A. Parker, 1416.
Yahuda, A. S.: The Accuracy of the Bible, 1243.
Year Book of Negro Churches, 1935-1936, compiled by Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom, 1314.
Younger Churchmen Look at the Church, The, edited by Ralph Read, 888.
Young, Stark: Feliciana, 1018.
Your Life Lies Before You, by Harry Hansen, 1426.
Your Mexican Kitchen, by Natalie V. Scott, 1460.
Yutang, Lin: My Country and My People, 1423.

Zara, Louis: Blessed is the Man, 919.
Zwemer, Samuel M.: The Origin of Religion, 1559.

Reviewers

Atkinson, Nathan P.: 1245.
Aubrey, Edwin E.: 889.

Baker, Grace B.: 1248.
Bennett, John C.: 1281.
Bosley, Harold: 1417.
Braden, Charles S.: 1014, 1245, 1313, 1559.
Bro, Marguerite H.: 1423.
Brown, Charles S.: 1063, 1244.
Buehrer, Edwin T.: 888, 1016, 1086, 1114, 1210.
Burch, Loren W.: 1557.
Burggraaff, W.: 1113.

Chaffee, Edmund B.: 1418.
Clark, Thomas C.: 1116.
Clinchy, Russell J.: 1423.
Conklin, Groff: 1555.
Craig, Clarence T.: 1015, 1247.

Eastman, Fred: 890, 1415.
Ellis, Paul C.: 893.
Enslin, Morton S.: 891.

Fahs, Sophia L.: 892.
Fillmore, Charles M.: 892.
Fleming, Elizabeth C.: 1413.
Ferguson, Charles W.: 1422.

Garrison, W. E.: 890, 919, 942, 991, 992, 1014, 1038, 1086, 1250, 1282, 1347, 1348, 1377, 1416, 1420, 1457, 1458, 1490, 1560, 1593, 1625, 1626, 1657.
Gibbons, William F.: 893.
Gingrich, F. W.: 1114.

Havelock, E. A.: 1424.
Harper, W. A.: 1561.
Horton, Douglas: 1555.
Hubbart, Henry C.: 1413.
Hulen, Amos B.: 1117, 1560.
Hume, Theodore C.: 1013, 1415.
Hutchinson, Paul: 966, 1017, 1116, 1145, 1178, 1250, 1419, 1557.

Jones, Llewellyn: 1246, 1558.

Kirkpatrick, Forrest H.: 1422.
Knopf, Carl S.: 1243.
Kresensky, Raymond: 894, 1115, 1421.

Lemon, W. P.: 889, 1063, 1116, 1246, 1418, 1556.

MacDonald, Angus: 1557.
Martin, James D.: 894.
McNeill, John T.: 1115.
Miller, Randolph C.: 1247, 1522.
Morgan, William H.: 889.

Newton, Joseph Fort: 888.
Nixon, Justin W.: 1016.

Oberweiser, G. E.: 1561.

Page, Kirby: 1112, 1242.
Pattee, Richard: 1313, 1561.
Patterson, Charles H.: 1420.
Pike, C. S. Bentley: 1413.

Rall, Harris F.: 1248.
Rich, Mark: 1559.
Riddle, Donald W.: 1562.
Riley, Walter H.: 1112.

Schlueter, Franklin E.: 1414.
Sharp, Alexander E.: 892.
Shillito, Edward: 1249.
Simons, Henry C.: 1421.
Spinka, Matthew: 1248, 1522.
Squires, Duane: 1244, 1458.

Taylor, Alva: 1556.
Tigner, Hugh S.: 1424.

Wieman, H. N.: 1242.
Wieman, Regina W.: 1417.
Wilder, Amos N.: 1146.
Young, Bradford: 1414.

Verse

Alchemist of Autumn, by Louis Ginsberg, 1412.
An Apology for Poets, by Carl John Bostelmann, 985.
Armistice, by Carl John Bostelmann, 1412.

Beggar's Meditation to St. Francis, by Jay G. Sigmund, 1622.
Black America Prays, by Robert A. Davis, 1402.
Blueprint, by Hellene Seaman, 1369.
Bound, by Arthur B. Rhinow, 1622.

Calvary, by Mary Hallet, 1111.
Carols Broadcast from a City Tower, by Adelaide Love, 1650.
Challenge to Death, by Havis Choate, 1308.
Christmas 1935, by Martha Provine Leach Turner, 1650.
Come, Holy Babe! by Mary Dickerson Bangham, 1650.
Communion, by Loren W. Burch, 1172.
Communion, by Phoebe Smith, 1234.
Communion Song, by Seymour Gordden Link, 881.
Continuation, by Louise Upham Brooks, 1338.
Compassion, by Polly Ames, 937.

Divine Madness, by Eve Brazier, 1202.
Dying, by Jessie Holt, 1449.

Ethiopian Battleground, by Edith Lombard Squires, 1486.

Follow Me! by Sheldon Shepard, 1062.
For a Day of Disillusionment, by Bernard C. Clausen, 1306.
Fragment from Marcus Aurelius, by Georgia Harkness, 1105.

Good Measure, by Edith Lombard Squires, 1056.

Highway Song, by Lucia Trent, 1202.
His Birthday Still, by Catherine Cable, 1202.

If Earth, by Jonathan H. Brooks, 1111.
Immortals, by Anna Hamilton Wood, 1234.
In a City, by Eleanor Alletta Chaffee, 1234.
In London, by Thomas Curtis Clark, 1338.
In the Kalinga Mountains, by Dorothy Lee Richardson, 964.
I Shall Discover, by Hazel J. Fowler, 1449.
It Is Time to Build, by Elias Lieberman, 1343.

Janus, by Carl S. Weist, 1012.
Jesus of Nazareth, by Ernest Cadman Colwell, 1482.

Kinship, by Alsa Landon Root, 1449.

Last Stand, by Helen Danforth Prudden, 1402.

Maneuvers, by Florence B. Lovell, 881.
Mediocre, by F. J. Earl, 1107.
Meditation, by Margaret Harriman, 887.
Morning Watch, by Daisy Atterbury, 1310.
Moses and Joshua, by Arthur B. Rhinow, 1338.
Mutable Things, by Carl Edwin Burklund, 1484.

New Frontier, by Elinor Lennen, 1209.
Night Lesson, by Adelaide Love, 1035.
Night Vigil, by Carl John Bostelmann, 1202.

Only One Song, by Lilith Lorraine, 1008.

Practical Soul, by Rosalie Dunlap Hickler, 1369.
Prayer, by Amos N. Wilder, 961.

Quaker Meeting House, by Elinor Lennen, 1402.

Retreat, by Raymond P. Currier, 1234.

Sacrament, by Una W. Harsen, 1142.
Second Sight, by Elinor Lennen, 1306.
Secure, by Elinor Lennen, 1486.
Similitude, by Elinor Lennen, 1338.
Spring Comes Slowly, by Raymond Kresensky, 887.
Strange Harvest, by E. Merrill Root, 1062.
Strategy, by Carl John Bostelmann, 1343.
The Burden of Egypt, by Georgia Harkness, 961.
The Dreamers, by Thomas Curtis Clark, 1105.
The Giver, by Arthur B. Rhinow, 1238.
The Merrymaker, by Wodbridge O. Johnson, Jr., 1008.
The Play Called Life, by Stanton A. Coblentz, 1552.
The Temple of Peace, by Arthur B. Rhinow, 1454.
To My Cherry Tree, by Adelaide Love, 918.
To Poets All, by Thomas Curtis Clark, 1170.
To the Poets, by Thomas Curtis Clark, 1456.

Wayside Shrine, by Una W. Harsen, 1056.
What of These? by Leta Howell, 1177.
What Shall It Profit? by Alexander Shaw, 1545.
Worship, by Anna Hamilton Wood, 1177.

Contributors to Verse

Ames, Polly: Campassion, 937.
Atterbury, Daisy: Morning Watch, 1310.

Bangham, Mary Dickerson: Come, Holy Babe! 1650.
Bostelmann, Carl J.: An Apology for Poets, 985; Night Vigil, 1202; Strategy, 1343; Armistice, 1412.
Brazier, Eve: Divine Madness, 1202.
Brooks, Jonathan H.: If Earth, 1111.
Brooks, Louise U.: Continuation, 1338.
Burch, Loren W.: Communion, 1172.
Burklund, Carl Edwin: Mutable Things, 1484.

Cable, Catherine: His Birthday Still, 1202.
Chaffee, Eleanor A.: In a City, 1234.
Choate, Havis: Challenge to Death, 1308.
Clausen, Bernard C.: For a Day of Disillusionment, 1306.
Clark, Thomas Curtis: The Dreamers, 1105; To Poets All, 1170; In London, 1338; To the Poets, 1456.
Coblentz, Stanton A.: The Play Called Life, 1552.
Colwell, Ernest Cadman: Jesus of Nazareth, 1482.
Currier, Raymond P.: Retreat, 1234.

Davis, Robert: Black America Prays, 1402.

Earl, F. J.: Mediocre, 1107.

Fowler, Hazel J.: I Shall Discover, 1449.

Ginsberg, Louis: 1412.

Hallett, Mary: Calvary, 1111.
Harkness, Georgia: The Burden of Egypt, 961; Fragment from Marcus Aurelius, 1105.
Harriman, Margaret: Meditation, 887.
Harsen, Una W.: Wayside Shrine, 1056; Sacrament, 1142.
Hickler, Rosalie D.: Practical Soul, 1369.
Holt, Jessie: Dying, 1449.
Howell, Leta: What of These? 1177.

Johnson, Woodbridge O., Jr.: The Merrymaker, 1008.

Kresensky, Raymond: Spring Comes Slowly, 887.

Lennen, Elinor: New Frontier, 1209; Second Sight, 1306; Similitude, 1338; Quaker Meeting House, 1402; Secure, 1486.
Lieberman, Elias: It Is Time to Build, 1343.
Link, Seymour G.: Communion Song, 881.
Lorraine, Lilith: Only One Song, 1008.
Love, Adelaide: To My Cherry Tree, 918; Night Lesson, 1035; Carols Broadcast from a City Tower, 1650.
Lovell, Florence B.: Maneuvers, 881.

Prudden, Helen D.: Last Stand, 1402.

Rhinow, Arthur B.: The Giver, 1238; Moses and Joshua, 1338; The Temple of Peace, 1454; Bound, 1622.
Richardson, Dorothy L.: In the Kalinga Mountains, 964.
Root, Alsa Landon: Kinship, 1449.
Root, E. Merrill: Strange Harvest, 1062.

Seaman, Hellene: Blueprint, 1369.
Shaw, Alexander: What Shall It Profit? 1545.
Shepard, Sheldon: Follow Me! 1062.
Sigmund, Jay G.: Beggar's Meditation to St. Francis, 1622.
Smith, Phoebe: Communion, 1234.
Squires, Edith Lombard: Good Measure, 1056; Ethiopian Battleground, 1486.

Trent, Lucia: Highway Song, 1202.
Turner, Martha Provine Leach: Christmas 1935, 1650.

Weist, Carl S.: Janus, 1012.
Wilder, Amos N.: Prayer, 961.
Wood, Anna H.: Worship, 1177; Immortals, 1234.

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of Yale University

and the title of his article will be, "God as More Than Mind."

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